JULIAN THE APOSTATE:

BEING

A Short Account OF HIS LIFE;

The Sense of the *Primitive Christians* about his Succession;

And their *Behaviour* towards him.

Together with

A Comparison of *Popery* and *Paganism.*

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"The Revd. Samuel Johnson had been for some time Domestic Chaplain to Lord Russell. A short time after his death Johnson was seized, & committed to the Gate House Prison as the Author of Julian the Apostate, a Treatise against the fashionable doctrines of Passive Obedience, & Non Resistance. See an acct. of his Life & further Sufferings in the same cause, in the Biographia Britannica at his article."

Note in Life of Lady Russell P. 274 8vo.

"No fine was set yesterday on Jonson for Julian, though expected." — H: Letter to Lady Russell.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

IN reading many of the late *Addreſſes*, I could not forbear thinking of thoſe *Angels which* Mahomet *ſaw, whoſe Horns were half Fire, and half Snow: thoſe Contrarieties which they wore on the out-ſide of their Heads, methought, many of our Addreſſers had got on the in-ſide of theirs. For with a brave and warm Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and a Proteſtant Prince, they generouſly offered their* Lives and Fortunes, and the laſt drop of Blood, in defence of his Majeſty, and the Religion now eſtabliſhed by Law; *and by*

and by the ſame Lives, and Fortunes, and laſt drop of Blood, are promiſed over again to a Popiſh Succeſſor. What is this but clapping cold Snow upon the Head of all their 'Proteſtant Zeal? For he that offers his Service to both of theſe together, liſts himſelf under two the moſt adverſe Parties in the World, and is Guelph *and* Gibeline *at once. What benefit a 'Popiſh Succeſſor can reap from Lives and Fortunes, ſpent in defence of the 'Proteſtant Religion, he may put in his Eye: And what the 'Proteſtant Religion gets by Lives and Fortunes ſpent in the Service of a 'Popiſh Succeſſor, will be over the left Shoulder.*

But this contradictious Zeal *was nothing near ſo ſurpriſing, as that of our Friends of* Rippon, *who beſeech his Majeſty, and are very ſollicitous, leſt he ſhould agree to a Bill of Excluſion; (for plain Engliſh is as well underſtood on this ſide the* Trent, *as on the other) and ſeem to be very much afraid of loſing the great Bleſſing of a 'Popiſh Succeſſor. All the ſober Men that I have met with, who remain unſatisfied as to a 'Bill of Excluſion, do nevertheleſs acknowledg, That* a Popiſh Succeſſor will be a heavy Judgment of God to this Nation,

Nation; to which we must patiently submit, as we do to all other Calamities. *But did ever Men pray for a Judgment, and make it their humble Request, that they might be sure of it? Do they not, on the other hand, when it begins to threaten them, heartily deprecate the Evil, and are they not earnest with God to avert it? Nay, do they not moreover use all lawful humane means to prevent it? There is no Judgment represented in Scripture, to be so immediately the stroke of God, as the Plague:* David, *in his great strait, made choice of it under that Notion; when he desired rather to fall into the Hands of God, than into the Hands of Men; and yet Men do constantly make use of all lawful means to prevent it. For, besides their using* Hippocrates's *Receipt of* Citò, longè, tardè, *and running away from it; they make no scruple of antidoting and fortifying themselves against it. They strive with an infected Air, and with Fires, and Fumes of Pitch and Tar,* &c. *they endeavour to correct it. Nay, they imprison Men that are infected, and put them under a very close confinement, when they have committed no Fault, nor done any thing to forfeit*

their Liberty, only that they may thereby preſerve others. This, and many other things are done by Law, till ſuch time, as it pleaſes God to countermand that heavy Judgment. I was therefore perfectly poſed with that Addreſs, and could not tell what to make of it. The leaſt I could think of them was this, That if they were Proteſtants, they were Men weary of their Religion, who were ſo undone for a Prince, a great part of whoſe Religion it is, to perſecute and extirpate theirs. And conſidering with my ſelf, what Precedents or Examples they might have of this ſtrange Conduct, and being able to find none; inſtead thereof, I had an imperfect remembrance of the quite contrary carriage of the Primitive Chriſtians towards Julian. *In which having throughly ſatisfied my ſelf, I was willing to give the World this ſhort Scheme of it. I can term it no otherwiſe, for whoever pleaſes to look into thoſe places which I have cited, will find, that I have not impoveriſhed the Subject; but have left, untouched, ſufficient materials for whole Volums, to any one that ſhall be diſpoſed to write them.*

Having told you the occaſion of writing this Diſcourſe, I ſhall ſay ſomewhat of

of every part of it. I have been very brief in Julian's *Life, becauſe I wrote it, only to render the following Diſcourſe concerning his Succeſſion intelligible; and yet, I am ſure, I have not omitted any of the main ſtrokes of it. The Chriſtians behaviour towards him was neceſſarily added, as a collateral proof, and illuſtration of their ſenſe about his Succeſſion. Indeed, if they had been worthy to have known* Julian's *Religion, before he came to be Emperor, we had not had that part to write; but they that report, and do not invent, muſt take things as they are. This behaviour of theirs being ſo contrary to what is commonly reported of them, and to the carriage of former Chriſtians, I found it neceſſary to make ſome few Remarks upon it; and to ſhew that there was as wide a difference betwixt their Caſe, and that of the firſt Chriſtians, as Laws for Men, and againſt Men, could poſſibly make. And if other Men are for taking Laws and no Laws, and ſhaking them together in a Bag, and for making the Reſult of either of them to be Paſſive Obedience, I cannot help that; no more than I can my own belief of this as a firſt Principle, that the Laws of a Man's Country are the meaſures of all Civil*

Obedience; or my belief, that any kind of Obedience, either Active or Passive, without a Law to require it, is like one of the marvellous Accidents in Transubstantiation, which makes a shift to subsist, when it has lost its Subject. But there it was, that I met with the Doctrine of Passive Obedience; which when it is taught without any regard to Laws, and is prescribed both without Law and against Law, is not Evangelical but Mahumetane, and the very Turkish Doctrine of the Bow-string. In such a short Discourse, it was impossible for me to say the tenth part of what is to be said, to shew how intollerable that Doctrine is, and how contrary, both to the Gospel, and to the Law of the Land. Christianity is so far from enslaving us, or devesting us of those Rights and Privileges which we have already, that it encourages us to procure more Liberties and Franchises, if we can come honestly by them. Read 1 Cor. 7. 21, 22, 23. *with* Dr. Hammond's *Paraphrase upon them. And* St. Paul *himself was not for Passive Obedience by any means, even when the lawful Magistrate persecuted him, if it were in an unlawful way, but he stood upon his Birth-right. For did not he in one*

place,

place, awe the Centurion and chief Captain, and make all the Souldiers vaniſh who were commanded to beat him, by telling them he was a Roman? *And did not he, in another place, bring the Magiſtrates of* Philippi, *one of the chief Cities of* Macedonia, *upon their Knees, when they had illegally beaten him, without a fair Trial, by telling them he was* a Roman? *Although it is very plain, that he, and* Silas, *who ſuffered with him, had really offended as they were accuſed, and were guilty of breaking the Roman Laws, yet St.* Paul *inſiſts upon this, that they were* uncondemned. *It were eaſy to produce many more paſſages to the ſame purpoſe. And then as for the Laws of the Land, That Doctrine overthrows* Magna Charta, Chap. 29. *together with multitudes of Statutes and ruled Caſes; which, as I cannot ſtand here to name, ſo I need not, they are ſo well known. Only I will ſet down one Caſe, for the fulneſs of it, which compriſes in it, more than all that I have ſaid.*

Acts 22. 25, 26, &c.

Acts 16. 39.

Verſ. 21.

Verſ. 37.

In the Circuit of Northampton, *when the Lord* Anderſon *and* Glanvile *were Juſtices of Aſſize, a Purſivant was ſent by the Commiſſioners to arreſt the Body of a Man to appear before them; and in reſiſtance*

reſiſtance of the Arreſt, and ſtriving amongſt them, the Purſivant was killed: And if this was Murder or not, was doubted, and this depended upon the validity of Power, and authority of the Purſivant: for if his Authority was lawful, then in killing of an Officer of Juſtice in execution of his Office, is Murder: And adviſement was taken till the next Aſſizes; and upon Conference, at the next Aſſizes, it was reſolved, that the Arreſt was Tortius, *and by conſequence that this was not Murder. The Purſivant was a proper Officer of the High Commiſſion Court, he was ſent by the Court to make this Arreſt, it was one of the Powers of their Commiſſion to ſend for any by Purſivant,* &c. *And yet becauſe this Power had no foundation upon the Act,* 1. Eliz. *upon which their Commiſſion was grounded, it could not juſtify the Arreſt, and conſequently the Purſivant's Blood was upon his own Head. For as every Subject ought to be, and therefore is ſuppoſed to be connuſant of the Law, much more ought they to be, who have any part in the execution of it. Now any Man may ſee, that my Diſcourſe does not deſcend to any ſuch petty Matters as falſe Arreſts, (though a Man's Liberty*

Coke's *Reports* 12th *part.* p. 49. Brownlow's *Rep.* 2d *part.* p. 15.

Liberty is not to be deſpiſed neither) but I have honeſtly and legally purſued the end of our Saviour's coming into the World, which, as himſelf witneſſes, was, not to deſtroy Men's Lives, but to ſave them. *Of which the Laws of the Land are likewiſe very tender, and have taken a particular care of all thoſe, who are put upon an inevitable neceſſity of defending themſelves againſt the aſſaults of violent or evil-diſpoſed Perſons. And to conclude, That Doctrine quite alters our Oath of Allegiance, and gives us new Meaſures of Obedience, whereas the old ones are theſe.* I ſhall be obedient to all the King's Majeſty's Laws, Precepts, and Proceſs proceeding from the ſame.

Luke 9. 56.

Wilkinſon *Treatiſe Coron.* &c. *Court-Leet*, &c. p. 140.

And then after all, that the caſe of a Pagan Succeſſor might not ſeem remote and forreign, and nothing of kin to Popery, I found it neceſſary to make a ſhort compariſon of both thoſe Religions; which though an unfiniſh'd Piece, I will be bold to ſay, is very like; wherein Popery may ſee her ſelf neither flattered nor diſfigured.

The Church of England *reſerves her Faith entire for the Canonical Books of Scripture, her Reverence ſhe divides betwixt*

twixt the Ancient Fathers, and the first Reformers of this Church; who partly were Martyrs that died for the Protestant Religion, and partly were Confessors that afterwards setled it, as it is now establish'd. How much the Fathers would have been for a Bill of Exclusion, we have seen already: I shall, in a word or two, shew you the sense of the other. Every Body knows that King Edward *the Sixth, to prevent his Popish Sister from succeeding, and not having time to call a Parliament, bequeathed his Kingdom, by Will, to the Lady* Jane Gray, *which was confirmed by the Privy Council: It signified nothing indeed, because it could not make void an Act of Succession in* Henry *the Eighth's Time; but by doing that Nothing, they shewed what they would have done if they could. I need not say what Bishops were concern'd, nor how far they were concern'd in that Business. But to pass by that, the Bishops in Queen* Elizabeth's *Time, to whom, under God and that Queen, we owe the settlement of our Church, concurred to the making of that Statute* 13 Eliz. *Ch.* 1. *which makes it High Treason in her Reign, and forfeiture of Goods and Chattels ever after, in any wise*

wise to hold or affirm, That an Act of Parliament is not of ſufficient Force and Validity to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the Deſcent, Limitation, Inheritance, and Government thereof: *And when you ſee their Names, you will find that very many of them were Confeſſors.*

Sir Simon D'Ewes *Journal*, p. 140.

Canterbury,	Matt. Parker.
London,	Edwyn Sands.
Durham,	James Pilkinton.
Winchester,	Robert Horne.
Hereford,	John Scory.
Worcester,	Nicholas Bullingham.
Lincoln,	Tho. Cooper.
Salisbury,	John Jewel.
St. Davids,	Richard Davies.
Rochester,	Edmund Gueſt.
Norwich,	John Parkhurſt.
Carliſle,	John Beſt.
Chester,	John Downham.
Aſaph,	
Gloceſter,	† Richard Cheyney.
Bangor,	Nicholas Robinſon.
Landaff,	Hugh Jones.

† *That brave Man, who in Queen* Mary's *Time was one of thoſe poor ſix, that in the whole Convocation Houſe oppoſed Popery; truly a very ſmall repreſentative Body of our whole Church.*

And

And that these Bishops were active and zealous for such Acts as these, and were not concluded by a majority of the other Lords, appears by what they did, according to some, this Parliament; but, as Sir Simon D' Ewes *will have it, the next Year, in relation to the Queen of* Scots. *I am not satisfied with Sir* Simon's *Reason, which is, That there was nothing moved about the Queen of* Scots *in the* 13th *of* Eliz. *For* Cambden *says, There was a Bill for making her lyable to be tried as the Wife of a Peer of* England, *if hereafter she offended against the Laws; which the Queen hindred from passing into an Act. I should not have mentioned this, but by Sir* Simon's *Account we lose* John Jewel, *who died in the Interval betwixt this and the next Parliament. But still there are Worthies enough left, who were Excluders with a Witness, for they were for excluding* Mary *Queen of Scots, the next Heir to the Crown, not only from the Succession, but out of the World. As you may see by their Writing, intituled,* Reasons to prove the Queen's Majesty bound in Conscience to proceed with severity in this Case of the late Queen of *Scots. Some of which I will here set down, only*

Sir Simon D'Ewes *Journal.* Pag. 207.

only to invite the Reader to peruſe the whole Paper.

Every good Prince ought, by God's Commandment, to puniſh even with Death, all ſuch as do ſeek to ſeduce the People of God from his true Worſhip unto Superſtition and Idolatry. For that Offence God hath always moſt grievouſly puniſhed, as committed againſt the Firſt Table, *Deut.* 13. His words are theſe; *If thy Brother, the Son of thy Mother, or thine own Son, or thy Daughter*, &c. Pag. 208.

Here you may perceive that God willeth his Magiſtrate not to ſpare either Brother or Siſter, Son or Daughter, Wife or Friend, be he never ſo nigh, if he ſeek to ſeduce the People of God from his true Worſhip, *&c.*

But the late Queen of *Scots* hath not only ſought and wrought, by all means ſhe can, to ſeduce the People of God in this Realm from true Religion; but is the only hope of all the Adverſaries of God throughout all *Europe*, and the Inſtrument whereby they truſt to overthrow the Goſpel of Chriſt in all Countries. And therefore if ſhe have not that puniſhment which God in this place aforementioned

tioned appointeth; It is of all Chriſtian Hearts to be fear'd, that God's juſt Plague will light both upon the Magiſtrates and Subjects: but that by our ſlackneſs and remiſs Juſtice we give occaſion of the overthrow of God's Glory and Truth in his Church, mercifully reſtored unto us in theſe latter days.

Euſebius *Life of* Conſt. *lib.* 2. *Conſtantinus Magnus* cauſed *Licinius* to be put to Death, being not his Subject but his Fellow-Emperor, for that the ſaid *Licinius* laboured to ſubvert Chriſtian Religion. And the ſame *Conſtantinus* is for the ſame in all Hiſtories highly commended. Much more ſhall it be lawful for the Queen's Majeſty to execute this Woman, who beſides the ſubverſion of Religion, *&c.*

A Prince ought in Conſcience, before God, by all the means he can, to ſee to the Quietneſs, Safety, and good Eſtate of that People over which God hath appointed him Governour.

——Therefore as the Queen's Majeſty indeed is merciful, ſo we moſt humbly deſire her, that ſhe will open her Mercy towards God's People and her good Subjects, in diſpatching thoſe Enemies that ſeek the Confuſion of God's

God's Cauſe amongſt us, and of this noble Realm.

Object. But haply it may be, that ſome do diſcredit theſe Reaſons by the Perſons, when they cannot by the Matter; and will put in her Majeſty's Mind, that we in perſuading her, reſpect our own danger and fear of Peril coming to us, and not right and true Judgment: Yea, and that it may appear very unſeemly and worthy ſharp reproof in a Biſhop to excite a Prince to Cruelty and Blood, contrary to her merciful Inclination.

Reſp. As touching the firſt Branch; ſurely we ſee not any great continuance of Danger likely to come unto us, more than to all good Subjects while this State ſtandeth; and the State cannot lightly alter, without the certain Peril both of our Prince and Country. Now if our Danger be joined with the Danger of our Gracious Sovereign, and Natural Country, we ſee not how we can be accounted Godly Biſhops, or Faithful Subjects, if in common Peril we ſhould not cry and give warning: Or on the other ſide, how they can be thought to have true Hearts towards God, and towards

their Prince and Country, that will miſlike us for ſo doing, and ſeek thereby to diſcredit us.

As touching the ſecond Branch; God forbid that we ſhould be Inſtruments to incenſe a merciful Prince to Cruelty and Bloodineſs; neither can we think well of them, or judg that they have true meaning Hearts, that in the Miniſter of God and Officer, do term Juſtice and right Puniſhment by the Name of Bloodineſs and Cruelty. God, I truſt in time, ſhall open her Majeſty's Eyes to ſee and eſpy their cruel Purpoſes under the Cloak of extolling Mercy, *&c.*

Here you ſee how urgent they are with the Queen, contrary to her Inclination, to put Queen Mary *to death, who did not ſuffer till thirteen Years after; and how they make the dangerouſneſs of her Religion, and the hopes which the Papiſts had conceived of ruining the Proteſtant Religion by her means, not only ſufficient, but neceſſary Reaſons for ſo doing. A Bill of Excluſion is perfect Courtſhip to theſe Reaſons. Let thoſe therefore that run down three ſucceſſive Houſes of Commons for that Bill, turn their Fury and Reproaches, with more juſtice upon theſe*

old

old Excluders, and we have done. And let them likewiſe give us but one Reaſon to prove a Bill of Excluſion to be unlawful, which they will own to be a Reaſon a week after, and not be aſhamed of it, and I do ſolemnly promiſe to joyn with them in renouncing theſe Old Reformers, and will hereafter readily follow their new Guides and new Light.

In the mean time, becauſe I ſee hearty Proteſtants abuſed to their Ruin, with ſhameful Sophiſtry, I think it the part of every honeſt Man to detect it. And the moſt popular Argument is this; You are preingaged, and cannot conſent to a Bill of Excluſion; for if you do, you are forſworn, becauſe you have long ſince ſworn Allegiance to the King, and to his lawful Heirs and Succeſſors. Now though the Lawyers tell them, an hundred times over, No Man can have an Heir while he is alive; *yet this will not overcome that deceitful Prejudice which is occaſioned by our common Speech; where a Man and his Heirs are contempory, and familiarly live at once in the ſame Houſe, and eat and drink together every day. Where likewiſe Heir Apparent ſounds as a greater addition to Heir, and Heir Preſumptive ſounds as ſomewhat a leſs*

addition, and few are capable of conſidering them as terms of Diminution. No more than on the other hand, a Papiſt can be perſuaded that Images are Idols, becauſe there common Speech has made a diſtinction, where really there is none, as the Homily *well obſerves: Whereas here it has confounded an Actual Heir with one that is only in poſſibility. What is to be done then? Shall we ſhew them, that the Duty of Exciſe, for inſtance, is granted to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors; in which it is plain, that Heirs and Succeſſors have not any title to a Penny while his Majeſty lives, which God grant may be long, to keep them a great while from it. Why ſtill it may be replied, that Heirs and Succeſſors may have this Law-ſenſe in an Act of Parliament, but an Oath of Allegiance ought to be conceived in plain words, and to be taken in the common ſenſe of thoſe words, without any Jeſuitical Equivocation. Well, if it be ſo, then let them be ſure to keep it in that ſenſe in which they have taken it, or ſhould have taken it by ſixteen Years of Age, in the* Court-Leet, *in theſe words*; This hear you, the Steward and the Court, that I ſhall ſwear, That I will be true Liege-man,

Peril Idol. p. 13.

man, and true Faith and Troth bear to our Soveraign Lord the King that now is, and to his Highneſs Heirs and lawful Succeſſors, Kings or Queens of this Realm of *England*, and other his Dominions depending on the ſame, *&c.*

Whereby it is plain to every Body, that no one certain or known Perſon in the World, has any intereſt at preſent in the Oath of Allegiance, beſides his Majeſty that now is: for who ſhall be King or Queen of this Realm of England *hereafter, none but God himſelf knows.*

Another Argument I have heard, which is fetch'd from the Common-Prayer, *That no Church of* England-*man can, with a good Conſcience, be for a Bill of Excluſion, which they ſay is to the prejudice of his R. H. becauſe we there pray, That* God would proſper him with all happineſs, *both here and hereafter. There is no Man in the Communion of the Church of* England *that prays that Prayer more heartily than I do. But it would be a Curſe, either in the Mouth, or in the Heart of any Proteſtant, under the name of Happineſs, to*

wiſh him the opportunity, and which is more the invincible Temptation, and a kind of Neceſſity, to extirpate the beſt Religion in the World. That, I am ſure, would be far from promoting his happineſs in the next World, and I am apt to think, will contribute nothing at all to it in this. He that prays that Prayer with underſtanding, prays for his R. H's return to the Proteſtant Religion: which would both prove an unſpeakable bleſſing to himſelf, and reſtore theſe three Kingdoms to be the happieſt upon Earth. It would be ſome comfort if we could but hope for ſuch a thing. But if the D. is perſuaded that he has made a better choice, it were very deſirable, but not unleſs it ſtand with his H's good liking, that he would enjoy that Religion to the greateſt advantage, and take his fill of it at the Fountain-head, which a Crowned Head at this inſtant does, who could not enjoy it ſo happily at home. And the rather, becauſe all Proteſtants are ſworn not to ſuffer Rome *to come hither. For I am throughly ſatisfied, and ſo may any Man elſe, by once looking upon them, that the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, are Proteſtant Oaths, (as a great aſſertor*

of

of Religion and Laws, now with God, thought fit to term them) and we ſhamefully and wickedly break them, unleſs to our power we keep out Popery. And the Oath of Supremacy, being often called in Statutes, the Oath of Obedience, *we are bound, by virtue of our Religion, of our Oath, and of our Obedience, which are ſtrong Obligations, to oppoſe the entrance of Popery into this Kingdom.*

And I am afraid it is a vain undertaking to go about, by Law, to twiſt a Popiſh Intereſt with theſe Oaths, when both our Religion, and our ſworn Obedience, engage us to oppoſe it. For in any Caſe that can be put, whether it be fit to obey Man, or God and Man too, judg ye. Julian *endeavoured to entangle the Chriſtians, and to deſtroy Chriſtianity that very way. There was a Law, and an Ancient Law of the Empire, (and ſo great ſtreſs was laid upon it, that the breach of it was look'd upon as an Offence againſt the Government and the Empire) that every one ſhould honour and worſhip the Emperor's Statues and Pictures; which were ſet up for that end in publick Places. Now he took advantage of that*

Law to enſnare them unawares in Heatheniſh Worſhip, for he added the Figures of the Heathen Gods to his own Picture, and as Gregory's *words are,* mingled Poyſon with their Meat, *abuſing their Loyalty to the Purpoſes of Idolatry. For this was his project, as* Sozomen *tells us, He concluded, that if he could bring over the Chriſtians to this, he might the more eaſily attempt any thing elſe that he had a mind to; but if he found them diſobedient, then to puniſh them without Mercy, as innovating in the Roman Cuſtoms, and offending againſt the Government and the Empire. A few therefore, who were alſo puniſhed, underſtood the Cheat, and would not worſhip according to cuſtom. Who they were, St.* Gregory *tells us, ſome of the wiſer and more conſcientious found out the fraud, but they paid for their ſagacity; the pretence was, that they offended againſt the Honour of the Emperor; but the truth was, they came into danger for the ſake of the true King, and for the ſake of Religion. But the Multitude, as they uſe to do, from ignorance, or an unthinking mind, ſimply thought they obeyed an Old Law, and more ſimply approached theſe Images.*

Invect. 1. p. 83, 84.

Sozom. l. 5. c. 16.

Ibid.

Sozom. Ibid. ἡ γνώμης ἀπειρίᾳ.

Images. But what ſays Gregory *of this ſort that obeyed the old Law? Who perhaps, ſays he, may obtain pardon for their Ignorance, as being hurried into Wickedneſs by a Wile. He makes a doubt of it, but he would have readily pronounced concerning their Pardon, who wink hard and are wilful. Now if a Prince puts a Border of Popery (which ſome ſay is ten times worſe than a Border of Paganiſm) about his Picture, which we fain would honour and reverence, and once did, before we ſaw that unhappy addition, what ſhall we ſay, or what can we do?*

In theſe afflicting Thoughts, I had almoſt forgot a Matter of great Conſequence, and that is a paſſage of St. Auſtin, *which riſes up againſt all that we have ſaid concerning the behaviour of the Chriſtians towards* Julian, *and is to this effect. That the Chriſtian Souldiers ſerved under this Infidel Emperor, and where their Religion was not concern'd, made Conſcience of obeying him; but where indeed it came to the Cauſe of Chriſt, there they made as much Conſcience of diſobeying him.*

Aug. *in Pſ.* 124. Julianus exti-tit infidelis Imperator, *&c.*

Now

Now the Reader may pleaſe to take notice, that the whole Conteſt which I have deſcribed betwixt theſe Chriſtians and Julian, *was purely upon the ſcore of Religion, and not from any lawleſs or ungovernable humour. And as for theſe Souldiers fighting under* Julian *againſt the* Perſians, *or other common Enemies of the Empire, (for as ſure as they were Chriſtians, they would never have drawn a Sword to deſtroy their fellow Chriſtians, or the Intereſt of Chriſtianity) and obeying the Word of Command, when they received his pay, it is ſuch a low part of Honeſty, that any Man may pretend to it. If I had been there, a Souldier of Fortune, I ſhould have done the ſame: and, which is more, would have loſt my own Life, rather than have ſerved him that ſlippery trick in* Perſia.

But the Chriſtians obeying Julian *in indifferent Matters, which did not concern their Religion, puts me in mind of a more famous Compliance amongſt themſelves. Every Body knows how the Church was rent in ſunder by Arrianiſm, and there might be too much ſtifneſs and rigidneſs on the other hand about*

bout Words, for ought I know, but miſerably rent it was; which gave Julian *great advantage againſt the Chriſtian Religion.*

Now what did the Chriſtians do? Did the Orthodox go and ſide with Julian, *to revenge the Injuries which they had received from the Arrians in* Conſtantius's *Time; or make uſe of* Julian's *Favour which he ſhewed in reſtoring them, to cruſh their Brethren which differed from them. No, there was no ſeeking to him by either ſide; only the Donatiſts of* Africk *complemented him, and received ſome ſmall Favours from him, but they were made infamous by it.* Honorius *the Emperor, as I take it, poſted them for it all over the Empire very many Years after, and St.* Auſtin *is often teazing them for it in the next Generation.*

For inſtead of that, a Synod held by Athanaſius, *and other Biſhops at* Alexandria *determined, That becauſe the Queſtion of* οὐσία and ὑπόστασις *troubled the Church, and becauſe there were frequent Contentions and Diſputes about them, theſe words ſhould not be uſed in any Diſpute but againſt the* Sabellians. Sozom. l. 5. c. 11.

The

Lib. 6. c. 4. *The ſame Hiſtorian has a notable paſſage to the ſame purpoſe in* Jovian's *Life, who ſucceeded* Julian; *and who, by the way, when he was choſen Emperor by the unanimous conſent of the whole Army, refuſed it, ſaying, he was a Chriſtian, and would not be the Emperor of Pagans: The Army, on the other hand, begg'd of him not to decline the Government of them, as a wicked Government, for they were all Chriſtians too; upon which he accepted the Empire. As ſoon as he came to be Emperor, ſays the Hiſtorian, Queſtions and Diſputes about Doctrines of Faith, were again moved by the Preſidents of the Churches. For while* Julian *reigned, the whole of Chriſtianity lying at ſtake, they were quiet, and ſupplicated God with* * *one accord, that he would be merciful to them. Upon which he makes this Remark; Thus Men uſe to do, when they are injured by Strangers, (or a Common Enemy) to be united amongſt themſelves; but when they are freed from Foreign Evils, then to fall into Diſorder, and diſturb one another.*

* now.

O that we had but this piece of common ſenſe, which it ſeems all the reſt of Mankind have! for nothing elſe, but being

ing united amongſt our ſelves, can prevent the Forreign Evils which are coming like a Torent upon us.

All that I ſhall ſay further, in reference to this Book, is this, That I have been as careful in the Citations, as ever I was in telling Mony; and therefore can only ſay, as they uſually do in that caſe, I hope it is all right; and if it ſhould chance, in any one particular, to prove otherwiſe, am ready to make it good.

THE

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The Editions of thoſe Authors which are cited by page.

BOnaventure,	*Moguntiæ*, 1609.
Chryſoſtom,	*Fronto. Ducæi.*
Catechiſm. Rom. ex decret. Con. Trid, *&c.*	*Antwerpiæ*, 1574.
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Juliani Opera,	*Paris*, 1630.
Miſſale ad uſum & conſuetudinem Sarum,	*In Academia Pariſ.* 1527.
Pontifical. Roman.	*Antwerp.* 1627.

ERRATA.

ERRATA.

PAg. 1. Marg *δείνειμε*, leg. *δίανειμε* P. 22. lin. 10. *Tirtle*, l. *Title*. P. 27 l. 6. *ſtept*, l. *ſtep*. P. 43. l. ult. *quidam*, l. *quidem*. P. 83. l. 27. *iuiuria*, l. *injuria*. P. 94. l 25. l. *tranſgreſſionis*. P. 105. l 24. l. *Oenomaus*. P. 110. l. 27. *Idolatry*, l. *Idolaters*. P. 152. Marg. 289, l. 299.

Some few Citations in the firſt Sheet, are not ſo conveniently placed, but with this notice, the Diſcourſe it ſelf rectifies them.

Julian

Frederic Rowland Marvin
Albany
N. Y.

Julian the Apostate.

CHAP. I.

A short Account of Julian's *Life.*

Eusеb. vita *Const.* l. 4. c. 51.

Constantine the Great, famous for being the first Christian Emperor, divided the whole Empire, at his Death, amongst his three Sons, as a Father does his Estate amongst his Children. That part which came by his Ancestors, the West, he gave to the Eldest, the East to the Second, and that which lay betwixt these, to the Youngest. All which devolved at last upon his second Son *Constantius*, by the

Τὴν μὲν οὖν παππωὰν λῆξιν τῷ μείζονι δεινεῖμε.

Greg. Naz. Invect. 1. p. 58.

death of his two Brothers. In the mean time, the Army uſed an extremity of Caution to ſecure them in the quiet poſſeſſion of their reſpective Thrones, for being jealous leſt their Uncles, and other Kindred, might uſurp, they put them to the Sword. In theſe outrages of the Souldiery, *Conſtantius*, and *Aniballianus*, and *Dalmatius Cæſar*, were ſlain; but *Gallus*, and *Julian*, the Sons of this laſt-named *Conſtantius*, were wonderfully delivered, and ſaved, beyond all expectation. The cauſe of their deliverance is variouſly repreſented. *Gregory* every where attributes it to *Conſtantius* the Emperor; and ſo does *Julian* himſelf acknowledg it in his Panegyrick of him. Others ſay, That *Gallus* the elder Brother was very ſick, and the Souldiers concluded, that his Diſeaſe would kill him, and ſave them the labour; and they did not think *Julian* dangerous, being but about five Years of Age. However that be, the Emperor *Conſtantius* afterward took great care of them, and they were maintained and ſerved like Princes, in one of the Royal Palaces, as being the remaining Branches of his Family,

Socrat. l. 3. c. 1. *Sozom.* l. 5. c. 2

Greg. Naz. Invect. 1. p. 58.

ὡς τῶ γένους λείψανα τῇ βασιλείᾳ τηρεῖσθαι.

Family, reſerved for the Empire. They both made ſo good progreſs in Learning, that they entred into Orders, ſo as to read the Scriptures to the People, thinking this no diminution to them, but that Piety was the greateſt Ornament. The one of them was ſincerely pious, though hot and fierce in his Nature; but the other redeeming the time, hid his wicked Temper under a Maſque of Gentleneſs. Ibid. *p.* 58, 59.

Gallus after this was made *Cæſar*, and a great part of the World put into his Hands; who being accuſed of Cruelty, and aſpiring to the Empire, was raſhly cut off by the Emperor. Ibid. *p.* 60.

Julian at the ſame time fell under the Emperor's ſuſpicion, but by the interceſſion of the Empreſs, he had leave to go to *Athens* to ſtudy Philoſophy. How he ſpent his time there, *Theodoret* informs us. *Socrat.* l. 3. c. 1. *Julian*, after the death of *Gallus*, grew preſumptuous, and had a great mind to the Royal Scepter. For which cauſe he went up and down *Greece*, to find out Fortune-tellers and Conjurers, having a mind to know whether he ſhould obtain his deſire. And he met with a Man that promiſed to foretel him theſe things; *Theodoret.* Hiſt l. 3. c. 3.

who led him into an Idol Temple, and there initiated him; ſo that the deſire of a Kingdom ſtrip'd this thrice wretched Perſon of his Piety. But
Greg. Ib. *p.* 61. according to *Gregory*, he had none to loſe at that time. For before this, in his Brother's Time, *Aſia* was *Julian's* School of Impiety, for Aſtronomy, and Nativities, and the vanity of Prognoſticating, and that which follows theſe, Magick; and he wanted nothing but Power to add to his Wickedneſs. And before that, *Gre-*
Ibid. *gory* concludes, that he was a concealed Pagan, when he diſputed hard with his Brother in favour of the Heathens, and pretended, that he only tried how he could hold the weaker ſide of a Queſtion. Which agrees with what himſelf writes to the *Alexandrians*,
Julian. Ep. 51. when he was Emperor. He adviſes them not to worſhip Jeſus, as God the Word, whom neither they nor their Fathers ever ſaw; but the great Sun, which from Eternity all Mankind do ſee, and behold, and worſhip, which is the living, and animated, and underſtanding, and bountiful Image of the Intelligible Father; if they would be ruled by him, who had tried

tried both Religions; who had lived twenty Years in their Religion, and was now onwards of twelve in this. However the Fathers all agree, that the occaſion of his revolt from Chriſtianity, was from a thirſt of Empire, and from conſulting his Heathen *Gadbury's* about it; for *Sozomen* tells us, That no Chriſtian was to meddle with the Arts of foretelling things to come. St. *Auſtin* has fully expreſt the Matter in few words; The ſame God, ſays he, that gave the Empire to a good Emperor, gave it likewiſe to *Julian* the Apoſtate, *Cujus egregiam indolem decepit amore dominandi ſacrilega & deteſtanda curioſitas.*

Sozom. l. 5. c. 2

Auguſt. de Civit. l. 5. c. 21.

The World knew nothing at all of this, nor the Emperor himſelf, who was now perfectly reconciled to him, and ſent for him from *Athens*, and made him *Cæſar*; and as the greateſt Pledg of his ſincere Affection, gave him his Siſter *Helena* to Wife; and gave him the command of an Army, againſt ſome of the Northern barbarous People who had invaded *France*. *Julian* indeed was jealous of this ſudden advancement, and look'd upon it as

Socrat. l. 3. c. 1.

grinning Honour; and in *Homer's* words, at that very time called it, πορφύρεον θάνατον, a purple Death; and long after, in his large Letter to the Senate and People of *Athens*, he repreſents it as an Artifice to expoſe him to danger, and to deſtroy him. But as *Socrates* has well obſerv'd, it is plain that the Emperor had no ſuch bad Intent, when he had given him his Siſter, for that would be to have Deſigns againſt himſelf. In *France* he was very ſucceſsful, and routed the Enemy; and having got the Hearts of the Common Souldiers, by giving them Mony, they declared him Emperor. Thus *Julian* began to Reign; and after he had changed the Magiſtrates in every Province, and traduced *Conſtantius* in every City where he came, and having encreaſed his Numbers, with thoſe that revolted from *Conſtantius*, he openly laid aſide his Hypocriſy of Chriſtianizing, and marches with his Army for *Conſtantinople*. His pretence was, that he came to excuſe his being made Emperor; but in truth it was, to wreſt the whole Empire out of *Conſtantius's* hands. Who, on the other ſide, was going againſt the *Perſians*;

Socrat. lb.

Greg Invect. 1. *p.* 67, 68.

ans; but hearing of *Julian*'s march, advanced with his Army to meet him; but fell sick and died in *Cilicia*. If this fatal Blow had not happened to the Christians, *Gregory* concludes, That *Julian* had now paid for his Folly, and not gone so far as *Persia* for his Punishment, as he did afterwards, but had met it now within the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire. And he gives a very good reason for his Opinion; for when *Julian* was now lawful Emperor, and the state of Affairs was quite altered; 'Yet he found much difficul-'ty in conquering that Army.

Ruffinus l. 1. c. 26.

Invect. 1. p. 68. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη τὸ κράτος ἔχοντι τὸ κρατῆσαι ταύτης οὐ μικρὸν ἔργον ἐγένετο.

The first thing he did, when he came to *Constantinople*, was to change his Court; 'By putting to death some, 'and banishing others, not only for 'being loyal to the great King *Con-'stantius*, but for being more loyal to 'a greater King, and therefore unser-'viceable to him upon both accounts. The next thing was, to gain the Souldiery; 'Which he presumed would be 'an easy business, because some of them 'would be prevailed upon by Ho-'nours, and some again would be 'drawn away by Simplicity, as know-'ing no other Law than the Will of

G Invect. 1. p. 75.

'their Prince; and as for the rotten 'and time-serving part, he could not 'fail of them. And in conclusion, he did draw over the greatest part of them. 'Nevertheless, God had still a 'Remnant, more than 7000 that did 'not bow the Knee to *Baal*, but re-'pulsed *Julian*, as a brave strong Wall 'does a sorry Engine that is played 'against it. He likewise called home the Orthodox Bishops whom *Constantius* banish'd, for one or both of these
Sozom. l. 5. c. 5. Reasons, as *Sozomen* will have it; either that the Church might be embroiled by a Civil War of Contention among themselves, or to lay an odium upon
Theod. l. 3 c. 4. *Constantius*; which last is in effect what *Theodoret* says, He did it as a popular Act.

Having thus setled himself in his Throne, and made the Army sure to him, he began to discover his Malice
Ibid. *cap.* 3. against the Christians. 'For before 'this he stood in fear of the Souldiers, 'who were Men principled in the true 'Religion. First of all, the famous '*Constantine* having freed them from 'their former Errors, instructed them 'throughly in the Doctrine of Truth; 'and after this his Sons confirmed them

'in

'in it. For though *Conſtantius*, at 'the inſtigation of others, rejected 'the word ὁμοούσιον, yet he ſincerely 'confeſs'd the meaning of it: For he 'called the Genuine Son, who was be-'gotten of the Father before all 'Worlds, God the Word. *Julian* 'knowing theſe things very well, did 'not diſcover the wickedneſs of his 'Heart, nor as yet make any Laws a-'gainſt the Chriſtians. Nay, he charged the People, That they ſhould injure none of the Chriſtians, nor reproach them, nor draw them to Sacrifice againſt their Wills. *Sozom.* l. 5. c. 5.

They ſuffered, notwithſtanding, very much in this Interval, as well as afterwards, from the inſolency of the Heathens, and *Julian*'s connivance at it. Of which *Theodoret* gives us abundance of Inſtances. The Heathens, ſays he, ran about the Streets, and abuſed the Saints with Scurrility and Mockery, and omitted no ſort of reproachful and abuſive Language. The Chriſtians, not being able to bear the hard Speeches of theſe Men, reproached them again, and ran down that falſe Religion which they had in great veneration. The Heathens, on the other *Theod.* l 3. c. 6.

ſide,

ſide, anſwered them with with Blows, and all manner of ill uſage, which he there ſets down. In ſome places they proceeded to the moſt barbarous Outrages. At *Aſcalon*, and at *Gaza*, where they rip'd up Chriſtians, and then ſtuffing them with Barley, threw them to be devoured by the Swine; As *Gregory* obſerves, the firſt Hogs-meat of that kind that ever was in the World, and fit only for *Julian*'s Devils. At *Heliopolis* there was one *Cyril* a Deacon, who in the Reign of *Conſtanſtine*, burning with a Divine Zeal, broke many of the Images which were there worſhipped: The execrable Heathens remembring this act, not only killed him, but cutting open his Belly, they taſted his Liver. The Hiſtorian records it as a Judgment upon thoſe that did it, that in a ſhort time after, their Teeth, and Tongues, and Eyes, drop'd out of their Heads. But, of all the reſt, I muſt not omit their uſage of *Marcus* Biſhop of *Arethuſa*; He, in the Time of *Conſtantius*, throwing down an Idol Temple, built a Church inſtead of it. The People of *Arethuſa* having underſtood *Julian*'s Aim and Intention, ſoon diſcovered their hatred againſt

Inveſt. 1. p. 88.

againſt *Marcus*, who fled for it; but hearing that ſome of his Friends were like to ſuffer upon his account, he returned and delivered up himſelf to that barbarous People; who (becauſe he would neither rebuild their Idol Temple, nor pay the Mony which they demanded for it) ſtrip'd him, and beat him, and dragged him about the Streets by the Hair of his Head. They threw him into Sinks, and ſtinking Channels; after that, they ſet on the Boys to ſtab and pinck his Body all over with their writing Bodkins; they cut off his Ears with Thread, and otherwiſe tortured him; they anointed him over with Oil and Hony, and put him in a Net, and hoiſted him up in the open Air, in the very heat of Summer, to expoſe him to Bees and Waſps, and ſuch miſchievous Inſects. And, at laſt, when they were weary of abuſing and tormenting him, they would have compounded with him for one piece of Gold. He ſaid, No; it was the ſame impiety to give one half-penny, as to give the whole ſum.

It is observable, that this *Marcus* was one of those that saved *Julian*, and privately conveyed him away, at that time of danger, which we spoke of before. Whereupon *Gregory* has this sharp saying; 'For that one thing 'perhaps it was, that he justly suffered 'all this, and deserved to suffer a great 'deal more, because he saved, unawares, so great an Evil to the whole 'World.

Greg. Invect. 1. p. 90.

Now all this was done, and much more, not only without, but against Law: whereby it appears, how much an established Religion is valued, when the Prince himself happens to be of another. For that alone authorizes the greatest Violence, and Oppression, and Outrages against them that differ from him. The Heathens, you see, did not stay for Laws and Edicts to warrant such Proceedings, which indeed they never had at all; but as soon as they knew how *Julian* stood affected, they took that for their Cue, to act these Tragedies upon the Christians. They knew it would please the Emperor, and that was an unwritten Law. As *Gregory* wisely observes upon this occasion; 'The Will and 'Plea-

Invect. 1. p. 92.

'Pleaſure of the Emperor, is an un-
'written Law, back'd with Power,
'and much ſtronger than written ones,
'which are not ſupported by Autho-
'rity. Upon which account he im-
putes all this Perſecution to *Julian* himſelf, who being a Philoſopher, a-voided the Name of a Perſecutor; and compares thoſe that injured the Chriſtians, to ſeveral Implements of Miſchief, but him to the firſt Mover who ſet them on work.

This under-hand Perſecution, was followed with one more open and publick; and though it were not ſo very ſevere in it ſelf, yet it ſtill encouraged the former. As *Theodoret's* words are in the next Chapter; 'A
'thouſand other Inſolencies every
'where, both by Sea and Land, were
'then committed, by the Wicked a-
'gainſt the Godly. For, from this
'time, the hated of God publickly
'made Laws againſt Chriſtianity. To begin with that which *Gregory* ſays was a Law, though a childiſh and ridiculous one; whereby it was ordered, That Chriſtians ſhould be called *Galileans*; as if Men were to be put out of conceit with their Religion, by a Nick-

Theod. l. 3. c. 7.

Invect. 1. *p.* 81.

Nick-Name, especially when our Blessed Saviour himself suffered so much in that kind, as the same Father honestly observes. In the next place, he prohibited the Children of Christians to have any Poetry, Rhetorick, or Philosophical Learning; for, says he, according to the Proverb, *We are shot with our own Feathers*: Or, as *Socrates* expresses it, He commanded, by a Law, That they should have no Schooling or Education, lest by this Advantage they might be better able to oppose the Disputants of the Gentiles. Some of the Fathers say, That he would suffer no Christian Masters to teach, and make no mention at all of his forbidding the Youth to learn. Nay, *Julian* himself says, That it would be an unjust thing to bar Children, which knew not which way to turn themselves, from the right way; and says expressly, That their Children were not prohibited. Upon this *Baronius* wonders at the Ecclesiastical Writers, for saying, They were prohibited. Bishop *Montague* wonders more at him, for contradicting all Antiquity. These great Men could not see a Consequence, which every poor *Hugonot* that

Theod. l. 3. c. 7.

Socrat. l. 3. c. 12.

Julian. Ep. 42.

that comes over, perfectly underſtands. For by removing the Chriſtian Maſters, he did effectually deny the Children of Chriſtians any benefit of Learning. For who would ſend their Children to Heathen Maſters, where they ſhould be in apparent danger of being principled and trained up in Heatheniſm? So that this Liberty which he indulged them, was a thouſand times better let alone; it was one of his Traps, and deceitful Favours, wherein conſiſted the true Spirit and Genius of *Julian*'s Perſecution. And this has been one of the Modern ways of extirpating the peſtilent Northern Hereſy in *France*; where the Proteſtants have had the liberty, and almoſt a neceſſity, of ſending their Children to Popiſh Schools, by being allowed but one Proteſtant School-maſter, where five would have been little enough. He made another Law, That thoſe that would not forſake *Chriſtianity*, ſhould have no place in the Guards, nor be Governors in the Provinces. Immediately, as *Socrates* adds, who were true Chriſtians, and who had only paſt for ſuch, were made as manifeſt to all Men, as if they had been ſet

Theod. l. 3 c. 7. *Socrat.* l. 3. c. 13.

set upon a Stage. They that were hearty sincere Christians, readily threw off their Military Girdles, chusing rather to endure any thing, than to deny Christ. Amongst whom were *Jovian*, and *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, who were afterwards Emperors. Of the other sort, who preferred the Money and Honour which is to be had here, before true Happiness, was *Ecebolius*, who was always of the Emperor's Religion. Under *Constantius* he was an hot Christian, and under *Julian* a fierce Heathen, and after *Julian's* Time, would fain have been admitted for a Christian again.

Invect. 1. p. 86. *Gregory* likewise makes mention of his Edicts against the Churches, to spoil them of their Endowments, Plate, and Publick Stock; which was performed with Military Execution, and in some places with much cruelty.

Socrat. l. 3. c. 13. And the last was, to levy Money upon those that would not Sacrifice, to defray the Charges of his *Persian* Expedition.

These are all the Laws which I can find he made against Christians; though he designed far greater Severities against

againſt them, when he came home again from *Perſia.* He intended, among leſſer Matters, as *Gregory* tells us, to lay them all under a kind of Civil Excommunication, for they ſhould have no benefit of the Law, unleſs they would Sacrifice in the preſence of the Courts of Juſtice; ſo that whatever Injuries had been done to them, they were to have no Remedy. But to the great happineſs of the Chriſtians, that day never came, for he was killed in *Perſia:* but by whom, and in what manner, we refer that to a more proper place. Invect 1. p 93. 94.

CHAP. II.

The Senſe of the Primitive Chriſtians about his Succeſsion.

Julian's coming to the Crown, a Pagan, was a perfect ſurprize to the World; ſo that we cannot expect to read of any Endeavours uſed to prevent his Succeſſion, and to fore-cloſe him upon the ſcore of his Religion. There can be no Petitions to *Conſtantius* to exclude him, nor Addreſſes in favour of him; No Lives and Fortunes raſhly ſtaked down to maintain Impoſſibilities, to defend Him and Chriſtianity together. Theſe things are not to be had, and therefore we muſt be content to be without them: And the rather, becauſe the Fathers have told us as much of their mind in this Point, as if they had actually, either Petitioned or Addreſs'd.

To proceed the more faithfully and clearly in this Matter, it will be neceſ-

ſary

sary to consider how the Succession stood, and what Right and Title *Julian* had to succeed to the Empire. And then, whether the Christians would have been willing to set aside this Title, and to have excluded him, purely for his Religion.

1. And in the first place, there is nothing more plain, than that the Empire was Hereditary: There are not words in the World to express it more plainly, then it is done in these following Testimonies. *Eusebius*, speaking of *Constantine* the Great, hath these words; 'Thus the Throne of the 'Empire descended to him 'from his Father, and by the 'Law of Nature was reserved for his Sons, and for 'their Posterity, and was to descend 'for ever as another Paternal Inheritance does. To which we shall subjoin as plain a Testimony from an Heathen. *Eumenius*, in his *Panegyrick* to the same *Constantine*, besides a great deal more to the same purpose, tells him, 'It was not the casual consent of Men,

Euseb. vita *Const.* l. 1. c. 5. οὕτω δὴ καὶ θρόνος τῆς βασιλείας πατρόθεν μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν κατῆει θεσμῷ δὲ φύσεως παισὶ καὶ τοῖς τούτων ἐκγόνοις ἐταμιεύετο. εἰς ἀγήρω τε χρόνον οἷα τις πατρῷος ἐμηκύνετο κλῆρος.

Non fortuita hominum consensio, non repentinus aliquis favoris eventus te Principem fecit: Imperium nascendo meruisti. Quod quidem mihi Deorum immortalium munus & primum videtur & maximum in lucem statim fælicem venire, &c.

'it was not any sudden effect of their 'Favour which made you a Prince. 'You gained the Empire by being born 'into the World; which seems to me 'the first and greatest Gift of the Gods 'for one to come into the World 'Great, and to have that at home rea-'dy for him, which others can hardly 'attain with all the toyl and labour of 'their whole Lives. Now if *Constantine* the Great was born to the Empire, so was *Julian*, having the same Royal Blood flowing in his Veins; being the Grand-son, as the other was the Son, of *Constantius Chlorus*. After such full and pregnant Proofs, it would be time ill spent to heap up more; such as that of *Julian* in his *Panegyrick* to the Empress *Eusebia*, where he says; 'That '*Constantius* married her, to 'have Heirs for his Great 'Lordship of almost all the 'World. He having none, *Julian* himself was the sole and undoubted Heir; for in him the Family was afterwards extinct.

Julian. Orat. 3. p. 207. Πρὸς παίδων γένεσιν οἱ κληρονομήσουσι τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας γεγονὼς ἤδη σχεδόν τι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης κύριος.

Onely there are some who would be glad (whether they understand what it is or not) to see some Divine Right mixed

mixed with a Title, for that would make it sacred and strong indeed. To please these Men if we can, let us again consider that Clause of *Eusebius* in the place last mentioned, where he says, That the Empire was entailed, θεσμῷ φύσεως, by the Edict of Nature; which I think is the most sure and divine Settlement that can be. But lest we should think this Expression fell from him by chance, in another place he varies the Phrase, and calls it, νόμῳ φύσεως, the Law of Nature. Speaking of *Constantius Chlorus*; 'He 'past over the Inheritance 'of the Empire, by the Law of Na'ture, to his Eldest Son, and then 'died. And in another place he has these words; 'His Son *Constantine* im'mediately receiving the Government, 'was declared absolute Emperor and '*Augustus* by the Army, and long be'fore that, by the great King of all, 'God himself. If this will not do, I know not what measure of Divine Right will serve their turn, unless they would have a Crown to drop from the Clouds. And *Julian* pretends to no less than that, in his Epistle to the

Euseb. vi. *Con.* lib. c. 15. Τὸν κλῆρον τῆς βασιλείας νόμῳ φύσεως τῷ τὴν ἡλικίαν προάγοντι τῶν παίδων παραδοὺς διανεπαύσατο.

Euseb. Hist. l. 8. cap. 25. Τούτου παῖς Κωνσταντῖνος εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος, &c.

Jews; where he makes them large Promises of Quiet and Safety under his Government; 'That, says he, en-
Julian. Ep. 25. 'joying this Security, you may enlarge 'your Prayers for my Reign, to God 'the Creator of the World, who has
Τῇ ἀχειρώτῳ δεξιᾷ. 'vouchsafed to crown me with his own 'unspotted right hand.

2. And yet the Fathers had the Conscience to set aside such a Tittle as this, and would have done an hundred more such, to secure their Religion. They were not so happy indeed, as to be before-hand with *Julian*, and to get him excluded; because, as I said before, there was not the least suspicion that he had changed his Religion; but they shew their good-will sufficiently by what they said and did afterward. If they had no occasion to make their Application to *Constantius* about this Business while he was here, will it not do full as well, if they call after him to Heaven, and expostulate the Matter with him there. And this *Gregory* does in several places; In the very beginning of his *Invective*, which he made presently upon *Julian*'s death. After he has summoned all Nations to hear his Speech, all that dwell in the World,

World, all People, Tribes, and Languages, all Men that are or ſhall be: And that his preaching might go the farther, all the Powers of Heaven, all the Angels, whoſe Work it was to deſtroy the Tyrant, who had not kill'd a *Sihon* King of the *Amorites*, nor an *Og* the King of *Baſhan*, but had kill'd the Dragon, the Apoſtate, the great Deſigner, the common Enemy and Adverſary of all, *&c.* He applies himſelf particularly to *Conſtantius*: 'Hear, O thou Soul of *Conſtantius* 'the Great, (if you can hear at all 'what we ſay) and the Souls of all 'Chriſtian Kings before him; but his 'eſpecially, for as much as having 'grown up with the Inheritance of 'Chriſt, and enlarged it to his Power, 'and eſtabliſh'd it by a long continu-'ance, ſo as to be upon this account 'the moſt renowned of all the Kings 'that ever were, (O the miſchief of it!) 'he committed a groſs miſtake very un-'worthy of his own Piety: Not be-'ing aware of it, he bred up for the 'Chriſtians an Enemy of Chriſt. And 'he did amiſs to be good-natured in 'this Inſtance only, in ſaving and mak-'ing him a King, who was both ill-

Invect. 1. *p.* 49, 50.

'ſaved, and made an ill King. And for 'this reaſon he is likely to be moſt de-'lighted, as with the Deſtruction of 'Impiety, and the Reſtoration of Chri-'ſtianity, ſo likewiſe with this Speech. Which in the next words he dedicates to God, as a Thankſgiving Oration, and a Sacrifice of Praiſe; ſo ſolemn it is. Now here is enough to ſhew that *Conſtantius* would never have made *Julian*, *Cæſar*, nor have ſet up an Enemy of Chriſt over the Chriſtians, if he had known him to have been ſuch.

But the ſame Father will give us better Meaſure in another place, in theſe words; 'Julian was preſently Heir of 'his Brother's Kingdom, but not of 'his Piety; and not long after of him 'likewiſe who made him King; who 'partly gave way to it, partly was 'forced by Death, and ſuffered ſuch a 'defeat, as was miſchievous and per-'nicious to the whole World. What 'have you done, O Divineſt Emperor, 'and greateſt lover of Chriſt! (for I am 'fallen to reprehending you, as if you 'were preſent and in hearing; al-'though I know you to be much a-'bove my reproof, being placed with 'God,

Invect. 1. p. 62. 63, 64.

'God, and inheriting the Glory which 'is there, and are only gone from 'hence to exchange your Kingdom): 'What ſtrange kind of Counſel is this 'which you have taken, who did far 'excel all other Kings in Wiſdom and 'Underſtanding! And after he has magnified him upon ſeveral accounts, he thus proceeds:

'You, who were led by the Hand of 'God into every Counſel and Enter-'prize, whoſe Wiſdom was admired 'above your Power, and again your 'Power more than your Wiſdom, but 'your Piety was valued above them 'both: How comes it to paſs there-'fore, that in this Matter you ſhould 'appear the only ignorant and incon-'ſiderate Perſon! What haſte was 'there of that cruel kindneſs? Which 'of the Devils ſtole in along with you 'at that Conſult? How have you 'thus, in a ſmall and ſhort point of 'Time, brought and delivered up to a 'common Cut-throat, your great Inhe-'ritance, and your Father's Glory, I 'mean the Chriſtians, that ſhining 'Nation which is in all parts of the 'World; that Royal Prieſthood, which 'has

Ἀπανθρώπως φιλανθρωπίας Τίς συνεισῆλθε δαιμόνων τῇ σκέμματι.

'has been encreaſed with much toil 'and much ſweat?

To this Accuſation of this good Emperor, he preſently ſubjoins an Apology, and ſhews at laſt, that what he did was through Ignorance; 'For 'who could be ignorant, even of thoſe 'that knew him but indifferently, how 'that for the ſake of Religion, and for 'the love and good Will he bare to us, 'he not only would have neglected 'him, or the Honour of his whole 'Family, or the Addition of an Em-'pire; but alſo that he would have 'made no difficulty of parting with 'his very Empire, and all things he 'had in the World, and his Life it 'ſelf (then which no Man has any 'thing more precious) for our Secu-'rity and Safety. And after a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, he ſays thus; 'But ſimplicity and plain-hear-'tedneſs are not watchful, and weak-'neſs is joined with good Nature; and 'who are freeſt from Wickedneſs, leaſt 'ſuſpect it. For this reaſon, what 'would come afterwards, was not 'known, and the Maſque was not 'diſcovered.

In

In this remarkable Paſſage, we have all this for our preſent purpoſe.

1. That the making of *Julian* a *Cæſar*, (by which means he had an eaſy Paſſage to the Crown, for it was the next ſtept to it) was a raſh, fooliſh, and inconſiderate Action; that it was cruel and inhumane, and fit only for ſome Devil to adviſe.

Sozom. l. 1. c. 5. Κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον πρᾶγμα τῆς βασιλείας τετιμωμένῳ. *Somewhat like our Prince of* Wales, *or King of the* Romans.

2. That the Fault and Miſchief of this Action, was not becauſe he uſurp'd afterwards upon *Conſtantius*, or upon any other Conſideration whatſoever, but purely becauſe the Chriſtian Religion ſuffered by it.

And, 3. that *Conſtantius* can be no otherwiſe excuſed, than by his ignorance of *Julian's* defection from Chriſtianity.

And all this not nakedly ſet down, and coldly delivered, but with an Emphaſis, and the greateſt vehemency imaginable. He does not ſay, *Conſtantius* was to blame for this; but he calls him to account for it, he follows him with Interrogatories, and bids him anſwer from Heaven what he has done. He does not barely ſay, That if *Conſtantius* had known *Julian's* Religion, he would not have made him *Cæſar*;

Cæsar; but he says, that he would have disinherited his whole Family first, he would have parted with his Empire, he would have strip'd himself of all, and lost his Life rather than have done it. And accordingly we find, that as soon as *Constantius* understood his Error, he bitterly bewailed it, which was just at his Death. He could not know it much sooner; For after *Julian* was declared Emperor, and had set up for himself, as *Ammianus* tells us, 'He still 'feigned himself a Christian. 'And though in private he 'performed his Heathenish 'Rites, trusting some few 'with the secret, yet he pub-'lickly went to Church on 'Twelfth-day, and after he had been 'devout at the Service, he came away 'again. This was at *Vienna*, not quite ten Months before the Emperor's Death.

Am. Marcel. l. 21. ad init. Utq; omnes nullo impediente ad suum favorem alliceret, inhærere cultui Christiano fingebat, a quo jampridem occulte defecerat; progressus in eorum Ecclesiam solemniter Numine orato discessit.

To return to what we were speaking of before, *Gregory* says, That *Constantius* made his excuse in many words, both to God and Man, for his kindness to *Julian*; and shewed the Christians, with much earnestness, the Concernment

cernment he had for the true Religion. This he did at his laſt gaſp, when otherwiſe it was all one to him who had the Empire, for he had done with it. And in another place, and upon a different occaſion, he has theſe words. 'They report *Conſtantius* repented him 'at his laſt breath, when every Man is 'a juſt judg of himſelf, becauſe of the 'Tribunal, which is in the other 'World; for theſe three things he ac- Orat. in laud. *Athanaſii*, p. 389. 'knowledged were evil and unworthy 'of his Reign; the ſlaughter of his 'Kindred, and his declaring of the 'Apoſtate, and his innovating in Mat-'ters of Faith. And with theſe words 'in his Mouth he is ſaid to have gone 'out of the World. This is ten times more than if *Conſtantius* had actually excluded *Julian*, for he might have done that, and been ſorry for it at his Death; as Men generally are for all the Actions of their Life, in which they are not ſatisfied. But now he repents him upon his Death-bed, where Men's Eyes are open, and they uſually have their ſobereſt Thoughts about them, that he had not done it, and reckons it in the number of thoſe things which have blackned his Reign. Invect. 1. *p.* 69. *Or his vigorous expedition,* διὰ τῆς ὁρμῆς.

This

This was the old faſhioned Doctrine of *Gregory Nazienzen*, who alone, except St. *John*, has had the Honour to be called *the Divine*; this was the ſenſe of *Baſil* the Great, for *Gregory* entitles him likewiſe to theſe Invectives; and this was the Conſcience of a Dying Emperor. If this Doctrine ſhall diſpleaſe any of thoſe Men, who deceiving, and being deceived, ſay, That the Succeſſion cannot be altered, which is puniſhable by the Laws of the Land; or that it ought not to be altered for the ſafety and ſecurity of the true Religion, which is contrary to what theſe Fathers aſſert with ſo much vehemency: In that caſe I have theſe two reaſonable Requeſts to make to them.

Invect. 2. p. 132.

1. That they would pleaſe to confute this Doctrine which they diſlike, and prove it falſe.

And then, 2. that they would never hereafter fetch their Mountebank Receipts of Prayers and Tears, and ſuch-like Encouragements to Arbitrary Government, of which I ſhall ſay more anon, out of the Writings of theſe very Fathers; but let them paſs from hence-forth for dangerous and

Anti-

Anti-monarchical Authors. Whom we can the better ſpare at this time, becauſe the whole Chriſtian World was of the ſame mind. Which, by the way, *Iulian* underſtood very well; for what elſe made him go to Church? Nay, the Chriſtians had ſuch an averſion to a Pagan Succeſſor, that they could not endure him, when he was become their lawful Emperor.

This Am. Marcell. *expreſly acknowledges in the paſſage juſt now cited.*

How fond they were of him, and what welcome they gave him to the Crown, and in how great heavineſs they were at his Death, ſhall appear at large in the following Chapters.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Their Behaviour towards him in Words.

AND here a Man may almoſt loſe himſelf in the great variety of Inſtances, which may be given of their Hatred and Contempt of *Julian*, when he was Emperor. How they reproached him and his Religion to his very Beard; beat his Prieſts before his Face, and had done him too, if he had not got out of the way; prayed for his Confuſion, and triumphed at his Death, and loaded his Memory with the greateſt diſgrace & Infamy. Theſe things will better be ſeen in the Hiſtory and Relation of the Matter of Fact: which I ſhall put into the beſt order I can, by giving an account of what was done in his Life-time, and then all that concerns his Death, and after that, how they uſed his Memory.

Their

Their Behaviour in his Life-time, will fall under these three Heads, of their *Words*, and *Actions*, and *Devotions*. I shall begin with the first of these, where *Julian* began with them. And they sufficiently requited him for calling them *Galileans*, for they named him *Idolianus* instead of *Julianus*, and *Pisæus*, and *Adonæus*, from his worshipping of *Jupiter* and *Adonis*, and *Bull-burner*, from the great number of them which he sacrificed. The *Antiochians* exceeded in this kind of despiteful usage, and chafed him into the revengeful humour of writing a Book against them, which has preserved the memory of those Indignities which they put upon him. They derided the shape of his Body, his Gate, his Goat's Beard, every thing that belonged to him, as you may see in the very beginning of that Book. And afterwards he tells them they were very happy Men, who had renounced all service, either of the Gods, or Laws, or him who was keeper of the Laws; and that the Gods, as well as he, had suffered dishonour from that City. It was a saying among them, that *Chi* and *Cappa* had never done any injury to

Invect. 1. p. 82.

Julian Misopogon. p. 88.

their City; by which Letters they meant Christ and *Constantius*. Yes, says he, let me tell you freely, *Constantius* did you one single Injury, that when he had made me *Cæsar*, he did not kill me. Two or three times, in that little Book, he mentions their *Anapæsts*, and Lampooning his poor sorry Beard. He complains, that whereas the *French* loved him for the likeness of his Humour, and took up Arms for him, and gave him Mony, and applauded him; the *Antiochians* did the quite contrary; they said, That he turned the World up-side down, and that his Beard was fit to make Ropes of; and that he made War against *Chi*, and they wish'd for *Cappa* again. And after *Julian* had written this Book, they were smart upon him again; and though he was inwardly enrag'd, he was forc'd to dissemble it at the present.

lb. *p.* 89.

P. 94, 95.

P. 95, & 112.

Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. Post quæ multa in se facete dicta comperiens coactus dissimulare pro tempore Irâ sufflabatur internâ.

These things indeed were not said to his Face; but they were the common talk of the Christians just under his Nose, while he lay with his Army about seven months in that City, to be in a readiness for the following Cam-

Campaign. And he was ſo enraged at them, that at his departure, when ſome wiſh'd him a happy Expedition, and a glorious Return, he very roughly ſaid, That he would never ſee them more, their Nick-names and Reproaches ſtuck ſo in his Stomach. But who commends them for this? Even that does no leſs a Man than *Theodoret*, who lived under two of the four firſt General Councils, and was himſelf preſent, and a great part of the laſt of them. He puts it all upon the ſcore of their Zeal and Love for their Religion. His words are theſe; 'That the *Antiochians*, who 'had received their Chriſtianity from 'the greateſt pair of Apoſtles, *Peter* 'and *Paul*, and had a warm affection 'for the Lord and Saviour of all, did 'always abominate *Julian*, who ought 'never to be remembred, you have 'his own word for it. For, for this 'Reaſon, he writ a Book againſt them, 'and called them the *Beard-haters*.

Lib. 23. Nondum irâ quam ex compellationibus & probris conceperat emollitâ loquebatur aſperiùs ſe eos aſſerens poſteà non viſurum.

Vide 8. Act. Concil. *Chalcedonenſis.*

Theod. l. 3. c. 22.

2. They did not only thus ſcoff at him, and deride him behind his back; but they took the freedom to reproach him and his Religion to his Face; of

which I ſhall give theſe two Inſtances. The firſt of a Noble Man of *Berea*; the Story is very remarkable upon ſeveral accounts, which *Theodoret* gives us in this manner. *Theod.* l. 3. c. 18. ‘ *Julian*, before his ‘ Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, ſent ‘ to conſult the Oracles, who promiſed ‘ him certain Victory. And after his ‘ Victory, he deſigned the ruin of the ‘ Chriſtians, and threatned to ſet up ‘ the Idol of *Venus* in the Chriſtian ‘ Churches. Marching on with theſe ‘ Threatings, he was overcome by one ‘ ſingle Man in *Berœa*. This Man was ‘ indeed in other reſpects an eminent ‘ Perſon, for he was Governor there; ‘ but his Zeal made him more eminent. ‘ For ſeeing his Son warping towards ‘ the falſe Religion, which then pre- ‘ vailed, he turned him out of Doors, ‘ and publickly diſinherited him. But ‘ he coming to the Emperor, who was ‘ but one Stage from the City, declared ‘ to him, both his own Perſwaſion, and ‘ how his Father had diſinherited him. ‘ *Julian* bid the young Man ſet his ‘ Heart at reſt, promiſing that he would ‘ reconcile his Father to him. So when ‘ he came to *Berœa*, he invited the ‘ Magiſtrates, and chief Men, to a Feaſt, ‘ and

'and amongſt theſe was this young 'Man's Father; and him, with his Son, 'he ordered to ſit next himſelf. And 'about the middle of Dinner, *Julian* 'ſays to the Father; In my mind it is 'not juſt to force a Man's Judgment, 'which is otherwiſe inclined, and to 'reduce it, againſt his Will, to the 'other ſide. Therefore do not you 'force your Son, againſt his mind, to 'follow your Opinion. For neither 'do I force you to follow mine, al-'though I can very eaſily compel you. 'But the Father, ſharpening his Diſ-'courſe with a Divine Faith, anſwered, 'O King, do you ſpeak of this Villain, 'who is hated by God, and has pre-'ferr'd a Lie before the true Religion? 'But, ſays *Julian*, putting on again a 'Vizard of Meekneſs; Friend, leave 'Railing; and turning his Face to the 'young Man, he ſaid, I will take care 'of you my ſelf, ſince I have not pre-'vailed with your Father to do it.

'I have not told this Story in vain, '(ſays *Theodoret*) but was willing to 'ſhew, not only the admirable free-'dom of this Divine Perſon, but alſo 'that there were very many who de-'ſpiſed *Julian*'s Power and Authority.

And that did *Maris* Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, with a witneſs, long before. 'Being led by the hand, for he was blind, 'and in Years, he came to Court to 'the Emperor, when he was publickly 'ſacrificing to *Fortune*, and reproached 'him much, calling him Impious, Apoſtate, and Atheiſt. And he reproached 'him again with his Blindneſs, and 'ſaying, Your *Galilæan* God will not 'cure you. But *Maris* replied to the 'Emperor, with more boldneſs than 'before, ſays he, I thank God for 'ſtriking me with Blindneſs, that I may 'not ſee thy Face, who art thus fallen 'into Impiety. The Emperor ſaid no-'thing to this, but he perſecuted him 'grievouſly afterwards. And the aged Biſhop, I ſuppoſe, had more wit than to expect any other.

Socrat. l. 3. c. 10. *Sozom.* l. 5. c. 4

It would be endleſs to reckon up the Sayings, of *Juventinus* and *Maximus*, whoſe Anniverſary Sermon St. *Chryſoſtom* in his Time preach'd at *Antioch*; of thoſe Souldiers that were trapan'd into Sacrificing, by one of *Julian*'s Stratagems; and of many others, who did not ſpare him in the leaſt: And therefore, in theſe Matters, the Reader muſt be ſatisfied with a taſte only.

Theod. l. 3. c. 14. *Chryſoſt.* Hom. 40. *Theod.* l. 3. c. 16.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Their Actions.

HAving ſhewed you, the manner at leaſt, how they treated him in *Words*, I proceed now to ſome of their *Actions*, which make manifeſt their hatred to him, and how they held him in the very loweſt degree of Contempt. I ſhall give but two Inſtances, and the firſt is the Story of *Valentinian*, which *Theodoret* uſhers in with this Preface: 'And others that 'were in places of Dignity and Au- 'thority, uſing the like boldneſs (as '*Juventinus* and *Maximus* did) enjoyed 'equal Crowns. For *Valentinian* him- 'ſelf, who was afterwards Emperor, 'but was then a Colonel of the Houſe- 'hold Guards, did not hide the Zeal 'which he had for the true Religion. 'For when that Thunder-ſtruck Mad- 'man went in Proceſſion to the Tem- 'ple of *Fortune*, the Chaplains ſtood 'on both ſides of the Doors, cleanſing, *Theod.* l. 3. c. 15.

'as they counted it, with Sprinklings,
'or Holy Water, thoſe that entred in.
'But when *Valentinian*, who gained
'both Kingdoms, of Earth and Hea-
'ven, for what he now did, walking
'before the Emperor, ſaw this Holy
'Water coming near his Cloaths; he
'ſtruck the Chaplain with his Fiſt, ſay-
'ing, that it would not cleanſe, but de-
'file him. *Julian* ſeeing what paſſed,
'ſent him away to a Gariſon lying by
'a Deſart, and gave order that there
'he ſhould ſpend his days. But in a
'Year, and a few Months time, he was
'made Emperor, in reward of his
'Confeſſion. For the Righteous Judg,
'not only rewards thoſe that are con-
'cerned for Religion in the Life to
'come, but ſometimes he preſently
'gives them the recompence of their
'pious Labours, by theſe previous Gifts
'now, confirming the belief of thoſe
'which Chriſtians hope for hereafter.

You ſee how *Theodoret* magnifies this Action; and though it was ſo high a breach of the Peace, as might have coſt him his right Hand, if not his Head, in many Courts; yet he makes him no leſs than a Confeſſor for it.

And

And ſo St. *Auſtin* calls him; 'Va- *Auguſt.* de Civit. *l.* 18. *c.* 52.
'*lentinian* was a Confeſſor of the Chri-
'ſtian Faith under *Julian*, and loſt his
'place in the Guards for it.

Our next Inſtance, is a Paſſage of as great a Man in his way, and that is, Old *Gregory* Biſhop of *Nazianzum*, Father to *Gregory Nazianzen*; We have it in the Funeral Speech or Sermon of the Divine upon his Father's Death; and after he has ſaid a great deal in his praiſe, he has theſe words; 'But I ſup- *Greg. Naz.* Orat. 19. p. 307
'poſe that ſome of them who knew
'his Life very well, have wondred a
'good while, that I ſhould be ſo taken
'up in theſe things aforeſaid, as if I
'had nothing elſe in commendation of
'him; and that I ſhould make no
'mention of the difficulty of the Times,
'againſt which he ſeemed to have been
'ſet in battel aray. Come on then, and
'let me add theſe things to what has
'been ſaid. Our Age bore ſuch an
'Evil, as no Age did before, and I
'ſuppoſe none will hereafter, an Em-
'peror that was an Apoſtate, both
'from God and from Reaſon, who
'thought it a ſmall Buſineſs to conquer
'the *Perſians*, but a great Work to
'reduce the Chriſtians. And the Devils
'that

'that drove him, perſuading him to it, 'he omitted no manner of Impiety, by 'Perſuaſions, by Threatnings, by So-'phiſtry, drawing over to him, not on-'ly thoſe that he gained by Artifices, 'but thoſe alſo which he forced by Vi-'olence. Now who is there to be 'found that more deſpiſed this Empe-'ror, or had a greater hand in deſtroy-'ing him, than my Father? Of his 'contempt of him, amongſt many o-'ther, both thoſe Archers, and their 'Commander, are a proof, whom he 'brought againſt our Church; as ei-'ther to take poſſeſſion of it, or to 'deſtroy it: For having aſſaulted ma-'ny others, he came hither likewiſe 'with the ſame intent, and imperiouſly 'demanded the Temple. He ſo far 'failed of accompliſhing any thing of 'what he deſired; that if he had 'not preſently got out of my Father's 'way, (being aware of it, either of 'himſelf, or by ſome Bodies advice) 'he might have gone away kick'd; 'The Biſhop boyling with Anger a-'gainſt him, and with Zeal for the 'Temple.

I have had more trouble with this Paſſage, than with all the reſt in the Book.

Book. For I have often tried to make this beating intended for the Captain of the Archers, and have been ready to make *Solæciſms* in the Greek, to avoid the greater *Solæciſm* of an Emperor of the World, awed and terrified with the fear of a kicking. But it will not do; it is too late for me to conſult *Julian*'s Honour, or to alter *Gregory*'s words.

And that you may be ſatisfied this is the ſenſe of them, I have here ſet down the Comment of a Metropolitan of *Crete*, who was a better Grecian than I ever expect to be.

Ac contemptionis, præter multa alia, documento quoq; ſunt ſagittarii illi, & dux eorum, quos impius ille adverſus Eccleſias concitabat, tanquam ſcilicet eas aut aſſumpturus & ſubacturus aut everſurus ac deleturus. Cum quibus ſcilicet omnibus nihil eorum, quæ cupiebat, perfecit, in tale Eccleſiæ propugnaculum incidens, quin potiùs, niſi quam primum ipſi ceſſiſſet (nimirum vel ipſe per ſe intelligens vel alium quendam conſultorem audiens) etiam pedibus contuſus abiiſſet, eo nimirum vehementiore quodam adverſus eum Divino Zelo commoto. Ergo contemptionis quidam luculentum hoc Argumentum eſt.

Eliæ Cretenſis Comment. in locum.

Here

Here you have the deſcription of one of the Lachrymiſts of old, who at fourſcore and ten, and after he had been thirty five Years a Biſhop, was an Over-match for a Pagan Emperor; and having vanquiſh'd him, and won the Field, kept it as long as he lived, which was about nine Years after *Julian*'s Death. And which is more than that, The Garlands and Trophies of this Victory are hung up in the Church by the hands of another Biſhop, to ſatisfy the expectation of a number of good Chriſtian People, *Baſil* the Great aſſiſting at the Ceremony.

And now know I no more than the Pope of *Rome*, what to make of all this, what they meant by it, or upon what Principles theſe Men proceeded. Whether the Laws of their Country allowed them (which I am ſure the Laws of our Country do not allow a Man to imagine) to offer Violence to their lawful Emperor; or whether old *Gregory* diſtinguiſh'd, and did not reſiſt *Julian*, but only the Devil, which his Son ſo often tells us was in him; Or how it was, I will never ſtand gueſſing. Only this we may be aſſured of,

of, that none of theſe Biſhops had ever been in *Scotland*, nor had learn'd to fawn upon an Apoſtate, and a mortal Enemy to their Religion.

CHAP. V.

Their Devotions. And firſt of their Pſalms.

THeſe Paſſages which we have hitherto related, were in common converſation, in the Streets and Market-place, in the Court and abroad in the World; where the Chriſtians might chance not to have their Religion about them, and ſo ſhew themſelves Men of like Paſſions with other Men; but when they go to Church, and enter upon Holy Ground; or when-ever they make their Addreſſes to God in Prayers and Praiſes, there one may expect to ſee the flights of their ſelf-denying and ſuffering Religion. There one may juſtly expect they ſhould lay aſide all their Animoſity againſt *Julian*,

lian, though he were their Enemy, and for that reaſon pray the harder for him. Yes, ſo they do, the wrong way; they cannot ſing a Pſalm, but they make his Confuſion the Burden of it. And as they order the Matter, their Prayers and Tears are the Arms of the Church indeed, for they are Darts, and Arrows, and Fire-brands, and Death. If moving all the Power, and ſolliciting all the Vengeance of Heaven againſt a Man; if calling for the Sword, and the Plagues of *Egypt*, be praying for their Pagan Emperor, they give him enough of that, as you ſhall ſee anon in their own words.

I ſhall begin with their Pſalms, which I ſhall ſet down ſo, as not to omit the Circumſtances I find with them.

Theod. lib. 3. cap. 9, & 10.

'*Julian* ordered the Chriſtians to 'remove the Bones of *Babylas*, and 'of the young Men who were mar-'tyr'd with him, from *Daphne*, where '*Apollo*'s Temple ſtood. Who gladly 'went and fetch'd the Coffin; and all 'the People went dancing before it, 'and ſinging *David*'s Pſalms; repeat-'ing after every Verſe, *Confounded be* '*all they that worſhip graven Images!*

'*Julian*

'*Julian* not bearing the Disgrace 'which was hereby put upon him, the 'next day commanded the Leaders of 'this Dance to be apprehended. *Salu-* '*stius* the Governor, who was him- 'self an Heathen, dissuaded the Em- 'peror from it; but when he saw that '*Julian* could not contain his Passion, 'he went and seized the first which 'came to hand; which was *Theodorus*, 'a young Man, adorned with Divine 'Zeal, walking in the Market-place: 'Him he tortured from Morning to 'Night, with so much cruelty, and so 'many fresh Executioners, as no Age 'has mentioned the like. And when 'he was upon the Wrack, and a Tor- 'turer plying him on either side, he 'did nothing but sing over again that 'Psalm, which the Congregation sung 'the day before, with an unconcerned 'and chearful Countenance. This made *Ruffinus*, who likewise tells this Story, afterwards ask him whether he felt any pain? 'Who said, that he felt 'a little, but there stood by him a cer- 'tain Youth, who all the while wiped 'off his Sweat with a very white Lin- 'nen Cloth, and often poured cold 'Water upon him, which so delighted 'him,

Ruffinus, lib. 1. cap. 36.

'him, that he was ſorry when he 'was taken off the Wrack. For when '*Saluſtius* ſaw that he had ſpent all that 'Cruelty upon him to no purpoſe, he 'put Fetters upon him, and kept him 'in Priſon. But he was ſoon releaſed, 'and no Body elſe puniſh'd upon that account. *Julian* it ſeems did not care to have that Pſalm any oftner repeated; which he might very reaſonably expect, when ſo much Cruelty could not make a Youth to alter his Note.

To this I ſhall only add, what *Theodoret* calls it, a memorable Story of an incomparable Woman: 'For even the 'Women (ſays he) deſpiſed this Man's 'madneſs, being armed with Divine 'Zeal. Her Name was *Publia*, and ſhe 'was Mother to *John*, who was often 'choſen to be Biſhop of *Antioch*, but 'as often refuſed it. This Woman be- 'ing a Widow, had a Quire of Vir- 'gins, which promiſed Virginity for 'Life, and was always ſinging Praiſes 'to God her Creator and Redeemer. 'And when the Emperor paſſed by, 'they ſung their Pſalms the louder, 'accounting him fit to be deſpiſed and 'derided. Now they ſung, for the 'moſt

Theod. l. 3. c. 17.

'moſt part thoſe Pſalms, which expoſe 'the weakneſs of Idols; and they ſaid 'with *David*, *The Idols of the Heathen 'are Silver and Gold, the Work of Mens 'Hands.* And after they had ſhewed 'the ſenſleſneſs of them, they added; '*Let them that make them, be like unto 'them, and all thoſe that put their truſt 'in them!* He hearing theſe things, was 'grievouſly vexed, and commanded 'them to be ſilent at ſuch time as he 'paſſed by. But ſhe, little regarding 'his Laws, put more courage into her 'Quire; and when he paſt by again, 'ſhe bid them ſing this Pſalm, *Let God 'ariſe, and let his Enemies be ſcattered!* '*Julian*, in great indignation, com-'manded the Miſtreſs of the Quire to 'be brought to him; and when he 'ſaw her venerable Age, he neither 'had any compaſſion for her Years, 'nor honoured her Vertue, but com-'manded one of the Souldiers to ſtrike 'her on the Face, till he made it 'all bloody with his hands. She re-'ceiving this Diſgrace, as the higheſt 'Honour, went back to her Houſe; 'but ſhe ſtill ſhot him with her Spiri-'tual Songs as ſhe was wont.

Now here indeed is a Suffering Religion, becauſe the old Woman does not beat the Souldier; but I cannot poſſibly find out any profound Primitive Obedience in this paſſage. Where is the Reverence due to Majeſty, or Eternity, as Emperors were then ſtiled, in counting him fit to be made a Laughing-ſtock? What dutifulneſs was there ſhewn, in refuſing to comply with ſo reaſonable a Command, as to forbear their Pſalms only when he went by? But it was *Julian*, and they did not owe him ſo much ſervice. They ſay, Rage turns every thing into Weapons, and there ſeems to be ſome quantity of that Paſſion here, when their very Devotions are ſo plainly aimed and level'd at *Julian*'s Head.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Their Prayers and Tears.

I Come now to their *Prayers and Tears*, of which *Gregory* gives us a large account. He ſays, They followed *Hezekiah*'s Example, who applied himſelf to God againſt *Senacherib* with good ſucceſs. And he inſinuates, that they had more reaſon to do it, becauſe they had no other way to help themſelves. 'This did *Hezekiah*, who had great Forces about 'him, who was King of the great City *Jeruſalem*, who perhaps might have 'beat off that numerous Enemy by 'himſelf. But we who had no other 'Weapon, nor Wall, nor any other 'Defence left us but our hope in God, 'as being altogether deprived and cut 'ſhort of all humane Aid, whom elſe 'could we have, either to hear our 'Prayers, or to prevent what was 'threatned, but God, who ſwears a-'gainſt the Pride of *Jacob*. And pre-

Invect. 2. p. 123.

ſently after he gives us an Account of thoſe Cries which they ſent up to God, 'in ſome of them invocating him as a 'Lord and Maſter, in others complain-'ing as to a kind Father; in others a-'gain, as if they upbraided and expo-'ſtulated with him, as Men in trouble 'uſe to do. *O God, why haſt thou re-'jected us for ever; why is thy Wrath 'ſo hot againſt the Sheep of thy Paſture? 'Lift up thy Hands againſt their 'Pride*, &c. *We challenged the Sword, 'and the Plagues of* Egypt; *and we be-'ſought him to judg his own Cauſe; and 'we urged him, that he would at length 'riſe up againſt the Wicked. How long 'ſhall the Ungodly, how long ſhall the 'Ungodly boaſt?* And withal, we uſed 'thoſe ſorrowful and more proper Ex-'preſſions, *Thou haſt made us a By-'word and Reproach unto our Neigh-'bours. We mentioned the Vine out of* 'Egypt, *deſtroyed by the wild Boar that 'wicked One, who made Wickedneſs his 'own, and was all over polluted with 'the Mire of it.* Hitherto *Gregory* ſpeaks in the plural Number, as if others had joined in theſe Prayers with him: Nevertheleſs, becauſe he ſays afterwards, *Theſe were my former*

Thoughts

Thoughts and Crys to God, it is possible they were his own private Devotions. However it is very evident, that their publick Devotions ran in the same strain.

In the forementioned Oration, at his Father's Funeral, you may remember that *Gregory* praises him for his contempt of *Julian*, of which we gave you an account before; and for contributing to his destruction. Concerning which he has these following words.

'And as for his Destruction, How 'can any one appear to have done 'more towards it than my Father? 'Either in publick striking the Villain 'with the joint Prayers & Supplication 'of all the People together, and not at 'all fearing the Times; or in private, 'drawing forth his nightly Squadron 'against him; I mean, his lying upon 'the Ground, where he wore out his 'old Flesh, and watered the Floor with 'his Tears, for almost a whole Year 'together. *Orat.* 19. p. 307, 308.

In this place he does not specify what those publick Prayers were

which they had for *Julian*, but he ſufficiently deſcribes them.

Firſt, They were ſuch as tended to his Deſtruction, and were a means of it.

2*dly*, They darted theſe Prayers at him. It is expreſt by a word, which might more properly be employed to deſcribe the throwing of that Javelin, which afterwards ſtuck in his Liver.

3*dly*, The nightly Squadron mentioned after, confirms us, that with theſe they fought him by day.

And, 4*thly*, they were ſuch Prayers as expoſed old *Gregory* to a great deal of danger; but he did not fear the Times a crumb.

If ever the Chriſtians were in cold Blood, ſure they were at old *Gregory*'s Funeral, for it was ſeveral Years after *Julian*'s Death: And yet you ſee, that even then his oppoſition to *Julian* ſerves to embalm his Memory. It was thought to be ſo much for his honour, to help to pray *Julian* to Death, that a great part of the Congregation had been diſappointed, if no

no mention had been made of it; as appears plainly from the Preface to this Paſſage before cited. So that in that Age the beſt Prayers and Tears were thoſe, which did beſt execution upon an Apoſtate Emperor, and contributed moſt to his deſtruction. Which now follows to be ſpoken of in the next Chapter.

CHAP. VII.

JULIAN's *Death.*

AFter *Julian* had reigned about nineteen Months, which the Christians thought very much too long, he met with an untimely Death, and they with the answer of their Prayers. For when he had been some time in *Persia*, his Army being suddenly attaqued by the *Persians*, he made so much haste from place to place to relieve those Troops which were most hotly engaged, that he forgot his Armour; and while he thus exposed himself, he was struck with an Horseman's Spear, which pierced his Side, and stuck in the bottom of his Liver; of which Wound, about midnight, he died.

Amm. Marc. l. 25. ad init.

And that the Christians might have this good News the sooner, as Historians tell us, it was conveyed to some of them by Miracle. 'A Christian School-'master at *Antioch*, who was ask'd in 'derision,

Theod. l. 3. c. 18

'derision, by *Libanius*, *Julian*'s great 'Master, What the Carpenter's Son 'was doing; being filled with Divine 'Grace, foretold what would shortly 'come to pass. For, says he, the Cre-'ator of the World, whom you in 'derision have called the *Carpenter's* '*Son*, is making a Coffin. And in a 'few days after came the news of that 'wicked Wretch's Death.

Which was likewise revealed in as extraordinary a manner to St. *Julian Sabba*. 'Who having understood the 'Threatnings of that Wicked One 'against the Christians, did more dili-'gently offer up his Prayers to the God 'of the whole World. And on that day 'the Emperor was killed, this Person 'being at Prayers knew of it; although 'he was more than twenty days Jour-'neys off. For, they say, as he was 'supplicating the merciful and com-'passionate Lord, on a sudden he 'stop'd the current of his Tears, and 'was filled with Joy, which disco-'vered it self in the chearfulness of 'his Countenance. They that con-'versed with him, seeing this change 'in him, desired to know the occasion 'of it. And he told them, that the 'wild *Theod.* l. 3 c. 19

'wild Bore, the Enemy of the Lord's 'Vineyard, had ſuffered the puniſh-'ment of his Faults, and lay dead, 'having done deſigning. When they 'heard theſe things, they all fell a 'dancing, and offered up to God an 'Hymn of Thankſgiving. And they 'underſtood, by thoſe that brought 'advice of his Death, that it was the 'ſame day, and the ſame hour, in 'which this Divine old Man, both 'knew the Wretch to be ſlain, and 'ſpoke of it before-hand.

And thus the News, as faſt as it arrived, was every-where entertained with all the demonſtrations of joy and gladneſs. His old Friends, 'the *An-'tiochians*, as ſoon as they heard of his 'Death, kept Feaſts, and publick joy-'ful Meetings; and they not only had 'Dances in their Churches and Chap-'pels of the Martyrs, but likewiſe in 'their Theatre they proclaimed the Vi-'ctory of the Croſs, crying aloud, 'with one Voice, *God and his Chriſt 'have gotten the Victory.* In a word, the whole Church ſung Songs of Triumph, as St. *Jerome* tells us, in his Comment upon the third of *Habakkuk.*

Theod. lib. c. 22.

Becauſe

Becauſe it was not known who threw that Spear which killed him, it gave occaſion to variety of Reports. 'Some ſay he was killed by a *Perſian*; 'but the more general and prevailing 'Report is, That he was kill'd by one 'of his own Souldiers; *as* Socrates's 'words are. But *Calliſtus*, who was 'then in *Julian*'s Service, and has gi-'ven us the Hiſtory of that War in 'Heroick Verſe, ſays, it was a *Dæ-* *Socrat.* l. 3. c. 21. '*mon* that did it. Which it may be he 'feigned as a Poet, and it may be was 'the truth of the Matter, for the Furies 'have puniſhed very many. And ſo *Theodoret* after him. 'Who it was 'that ſtruck that juſt ſtroak, no Body *Theod.* l. 3. c. 20. 'knows to this day. But whether it 'was Man or Angel that thruſt the 'Weapon, it is plain that he who did 'it, was the Miniſter of the Divine 'appointment and direction.

But *Libanius* the Sophiſt, whom *Julian* in his Letters to him, calls his *Deareſt Brother*, is reſolved to find out the Man that kill'd his good Friend; and thus he traces him. 'Does any *Sozom.* l. 6. c. 1. 'one deſire to know the Man that 'kill'd him? I know not his Name; 'but that he was none of the Enemy,

'this

'this is a clear proof, that no Body a-
'mong the *Persians* was rewarded for
'that Blow. Although the King of
'*Persia* made proclamation of reward-
'ing him that kill'd him, yet no Body
'was tempted by the Reward to brag
'that he did it. And we are beholden
'to our Enemies, that they would not
'assume the Glory of those things
'which they did not do, but have al-
'lowed us to seek for the Murderer
'amongst our selves. Now his Life
'was not for their profit, who did not
'live according to his Laws, and had
'long plotted against him, and having
'then an opportunity, put it in exe-
'cution. And *Libanius* writing after
'this fashion, insinuates, that he who
'kill'd *Julian* was a Christian; which
Ib. cap. 2. 'it may be (says the Historian) was
'true. This a strange Concession, but
you will more wonder that he should
justify such a Traiterous Assassination,
and yet he does in the following words.
'For it is not improbable, that some
'one of the Souldiers might take into
'consideration, how the Heathens, and
'all Men to this day, do still praise
'those who long since have killed
'Tyrants, as Men that were willing to
'die

'die for the Common Liberty, and de-
'fended in that manner their Country-
'men, Kinſmen, and Friends. And
'you can hardly blame him, who ſhews
'himſelf ſo couragious for God, and
'for that Religion which he approves.
And it is another wonder to me, that
this ſtrange Doctrine ſhould be dedi-
cated to *Theodoſius* the younger, an
Emperor, who in leſs than fifty Years
after, ſat upon the very ſame Throne
that *Julian* did.

χολῆ γὰρ ἄν τις αὐτῷ μέμψαιτο.

Sozom. dedic, Eccl. Hiſt.

And now we have brought *Julian* to his Grave, it may reaſonably be expected, that there the Chriſtians ſhould let him reſt in quiet, and let fall their Quarrel when their Enemy was gone. Which whether they did or no, ſhall be ſhewn in the next Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

How they used his Memory.

TO make amends for their dry Eyes at *Julian*'s Funeral, the Christians spared neither pains nor cost to erect Pillars and Monuments to his Memory. *Gregory* gives us the Description of that stately one, which he reared for him, speaking to *Julian*.

Invect. 2. p. 134. 'This Pillar we erect for you, which 'is higher and more conspicuous than '*Hercules*'s Pillars. For they are fixed 'in one place, and are only to be seen by 'those that come thither; but this being 'a moveable one, cannot chuse but be 'known every where, and by all Men; 'which I am sure will last to future 'Ages, branding thee and thy Actions, 'and warning all others not to attempt 'any such Rebellion against God, lest 'doing the like things, they fare alike. And I think he has made an Example of him.

For

For let any one read the Inscription of this Monument, and he will bless himself to see what Titles of Honour are bestowed upon him. 'Thou Persecutor next to *Herod*, thou Traitor 'next to *Judas*, (only thou hast not 'testified thy Repentance, by hanging 'thy self, as he did) and killer of 'Christ after *Pilate*, and next to the 'Jews, thou hater of God. He calls him Murderer, Enemy, and Avenger, *&c.* And all the Ecclesiastical Historians do the like.

Invect. 1. p. 76.

P. 94.

But I am weary of ripping up the reproachful and ignominious Titles, which the Christians Tongues being unfettered, as *Gregory*'s Expression is, and the great facility of compounding Greek words have lavishly bestowed upon him. And after all, they lodg him in Hell, and there they leave him. Says St. *Chrysostom*, 'Where is the Em-'peror that threatned these things? 'He is lost and destroyed, and now 'he is in Hell, undergoing endless pu-'nishment.

Invect. 2. p. 134.

Chrysost. Hom. de S. Hieromartyre Babyla. *p.* 723.

What Protestants ever treated their worst Persecutors at this rate? Who ever

ever called Queen *Mary*, *mad Bitch*, as St. *Jerome* does *Julian*, *mad Dog*? No, the Courtesy of *England* has been shewn, even to that treacherous and bloody Woman, who deserved as ill of the Christian Religion, as ever *Julian* did, which I hope to make very plain by and by.

In the Preface to his Catalogue of Eccles. Writers.

In the mean time it will be necessary to make some Reflections upon the strange and unexpected Behaviour of the Primitive Christians.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Reflections on the Behaviour of these Christians.

JUlian's Persecution was but a flea-biting to what the Christians had formerly felt; it was but a short and weak assault of the Devil, as *Gregory* calls it; and for that reason, he very much bewails the Sin of all those that withered away, when there was no greater heat of Temptation. 'If 'Men fell away from Christianity, 'they were ridiculously overcome, '(as St. *Chrysostom* expresses it); and 'if they persevered, it was no such 'great matter to quit a Trade or a 'Profession for their Religion. Which was the Case of the discarded School-masters, and Physicians, and Souldiers, and was the greatest severity of all *Julian*'s Edicts. He was, if we will speak properly, rather a Tempter than a Persecutor; 'for some he seduced 'with Mony, others with Places of

In ect. 1. p. 53.

Chrysost. Hom. 40. de SS. Juv. & Max. mox ab init.

Greg. Orat. 10. in *Cæsar.* p. 167

'Truſt, others with Promiſes, others 'with Honours of all ſorts, which he 'expoſed in all Mens ſight, not like a 'King, but in a very ſervile manner; 'and others again he won by the 'witchcraft of his words, and by his 'own Example. He wrought upon Men's Covetouſneſs and Ambition, more than upon their Fear; and that with ſo good ſucceſs, that St. *Aſterius* ſays, 'It verifies the ſaying of *Paul*, 'a Preacher of Truth, that *Covetouſ-* '*neſs is Idolatry.* And as for what he deſigned againſt the Chriſtians, it was far ſhort of what other Emperors had executed. And yet how do the Chriſtians treat this Emperor! One would take them to be the Apoſtates; one while reproaching him, ruffling with him, and vexing every Vein in his Royal Heart; another while ſaying all their Prayers backwards, and calling down Vengeance upon his Head; after that, dancing and leaping for joy at his Death, and inſulting over his Memory. But for the name of Chriſtians, he had better have fallen amongſt Barbarians. And yet he often put them in mind of their Chriſtianity too: He told them, when they com-

Homil. 3. cont. Avaritiam Biblioth Patrum Colon. p. 704.

complained of any Oppreſſion; 'It 'is your part, when you are ill uſed, to 'bear it, for this is the Commandment 'of your God. But they flurt at 'him for this, and ſay, He makes a ve- 'ry wiſe Speech, and this he remem- 'bers ſince he was Reader; and he 'ſhould have read on, and not skip'd 'over that Paſſage, The wicked Man 'ſhall be miſerably deſtroyed, ſuch a 'one as denies God, and which is more, 'vexes thoſe that perſevere in the 'Confeſſion of Him. They ask, How 'or where that Right is that they 'ſhould ſuffer and bear it, and that 'the Heathens ſhould not ſpare thoſe, 'who when time was ſpared them? They call him by the bloodieſt Names of the Devil, for taking advantage of the Chriſtian Doctrine in this Particular, which ſays, 'We muſt not avenge 'our ſelves, nor go to Law, *&c.* nor 'render Evil for Evil, but pray for, 'and wiſh well to thoſe who injure 'and perſecute us. And in concluſion, they come with their Diſtinctions, and tell him, 'That he muſt not 'think to drive all Men up to the top 'and pinacle of Vertue. For there 'are ſeveral commands in the Goſpel,

Socrat. l. 3. c. 14.

Greg. Invect. 1. p. 94, 95.

'(which are no more than Counſels of 'Perfection) which bring honour and 'reward to them that keep them, but to 'thoſe that do not keep them, no manner 'of danger at all. Is not this the right courſe to interpret and gloſs away all their Duty? In a word, they ſeem to have broke all the Meaſures by which all the Ancient and Suffering Chriſtians have gone in all former Perſecutions.

The plain truth of the Matter is this; Their Caſe differed very much, and they were in quite other Circumſtances than the firſt Chriſtians were. When *Julian* came to the Crown, he found them in full and quiet poſſeſſion of their Religion, which they had enjoyed without interruption for almoſt fifty Years, and which was ſo ineſtimable a Bleſſing, that they had plainly undervalued it, if they had not done their utmoſt to keep it. And then to have this Treaſure wreſted out of their hands, by one that had been bred up in the Boſom of the Church, who profeſs'd himſelf a Chriſtian, and never pull'd off his Maſque, till it was too late for them to help themſelves; this was enough to raiſe, not only all their Zeal, but all their indignation too.

too. Whereas the poor Primitive Chriſtians of all, were born to Perſecution, they neither knew better, nor expected it. They profeſſed their new Religion, as in ſome places they propounded new Laws, with an Halter about their Necks. The Laws of the Empire were always in force againſt them, though not always put in execution; and the edge of the Ax ſtood always towards them, though it were not at all times ſtained with their Blood.

In a word, they perpetually lay at the Mercy of their Enemies: their Religion at the beſt was in the World but upon ſufferance, as *Abraham* was in the Land of *Canaan*; *where he had none Inheritance, no not ſo much as to ſet his foot on.* But as his afflicted Poſterity were afterwards Lords of that Country, ſo after another Ægyptian Bondage, Chriſtianity was advanced to be the eſtabliſhed Religion of the Empire. It is worth the while to read *Euſebius*, only to ſee in what a tranſport of joy the Chriſtians were, upon that happy Revolution. The Chriſtian World at that time, was the very Picture of Heaven. Such joy there Acts 7. 5.

will be again amongst good Men, when they have cros's'd the tempestuous Sea of this World, and are safely landed in the Regions of Light and Immortality. For what *Gregory* says of *Constantius*, was true of many others; 'Never any Man in this World set his 'Heart so much upon any other thing, 'as he did to see the Christians flou-'rish, and to have all the advantages 'of Glory and Power. And neither 'conquered Nations, nor a well-go-'vern'd Empire, nor great Treasures, 'nor excess of Glory, nor being King 'of Kings, nor being stiled so, nor all 'other things, which make up other 'Men's Notion of happiness, did de-'light him so much, as to have the ho-'nour of bringing Honour to the 'Christians, and of leaving them esta-'blish'd for ever in the possession of 'Power and Authority. And Men that valued the establishment of their Religion at this Rate, would not easily part with it. Now for *Julian*, who by his Baptism first, and by entring into Orders after, and by his going to Church after that, sufficiently engaged himself to maintain Christianity, to endeavour on the other hand to dis-

Invect. I. p. 64.

possess

possess them of their Free-hold, was an insupportable injury.

Is there no difference, I appeal to all the World, between being turn'd out as Sheep among Wolves, which was the deplorable, but unavoidable case of the first Christians, and being worried by one of their own Flock? Has a Man no more Right nor Priviledg after he is Naturalized, than when he was a Stranger, or Alien, or accounted an Enemy? Do not the same Laws, which forbid Men to invade other Men's Rights, enable them notwithstanding to maintain and defend their own? These are the plain and palpable differences between the State of the first Christians, and of those under *Julian*.

To sum up all in one word; The first Christians suffered according to the Laws of their Country, whereas these under *Julian* were persecuted contrary to Law. For it is manifest that *Julian* oppressed them in a very illegal way. He did not fairly enact Sanguinary Laws against them for their Religion, but he put them to Death upon Shams, and pretended

Theod. l. 3. c. 14. Crimes of Treason and Sacriledg. He dressed up an Accusation of Treason against *Juventinus* and *Maximus*; and though they died for their generous Zeal, and hearty Concernment for Christianity, he gave out, and commanded it to be noised abroad, That they were punish'd for Treasonable words.

Hom. de SS. Juvent. & Maxim. ex ab init. The other Sham of Sacrilege S. *Chrysostom* acquaints us with in these words. 'If any one, in former Times, 'when Godly Kings had the Govern-'ment, had either broken their Altars, 'thrown down their Temples, taken 'away their Oblations, or done any 'such thing, he was presently hurried 'away to the Tribunal; and some-'times the Innocent were executed, 'when they were only accused. The truth of which *Julian* himself confirms in his own Writings; where he says, 'Let no Man distrust the Gods, when 'he hears how some have done despite 'to Images and Temples. For have 'not many slain good Men, such as 'Socrates, and *Dion*, and the great 'Empedotimus, which I am well assu-'red were much more the Care of the 'Gods than their Images are? But 'they

Fragment. *Julian.* p. 540.

'they have afterward puniſh'd their 'Murderers; and this likewiſe has 'manifeſtly happened in our Time, to 'thoſe that were robbers of Temples. And beſides all this, by his connivance and encouragement, he let looſe the rage and fury of the Heathens upon them, as I ſhewed before. And therefore *Gregory*, all over his *Invectives*, charges him with Tyranny, and often calls him Tyrant. So that the ſame Men, who would quietly have ſubmitted to the Laws, under a *Nero* or *Diocleſian*, do nevertheleſs purſue *Julian*, as if he were a Mid-night Thief, or a High-way Robber.

As for us, who, bleſſed be God, have our Religion ſetled by ſuch Laws as cannot be altered without our own conſent, we cannot better expreſs our thankfulneſs for ſo great a Bleſſing, than by living up to this Holy Religion, and reſolving to keep it. For ſurely it is not of the Eſſence of the Goſpel, to be a Suffering Religion, that is an evil Circumſtance, which attends it only in bad Times;

Bracton. l. 1. c. 2. Leges cum fuerint approbatæ conſenſu utentium & Sacramento Regum confirmatæ mutari non poſſunt nec deſtrui ſine communi conſenſu & conſilio eorum omnium quorum conſilio & conſenſu fuerunt promulgatæ.

Times; it is a reigning Religion amongſt us, and I hope will never be otherwiſe while the World ſtands. And therefore I much wonder at thoſe Men, who trouble the Nation at this time of the day, with the unſeaſonable preſcriptions of Prayers and Tears, and the Paſſive Obedience of the *Thebæan* Legion, and ſuch-like laſt Remedies, which are proper, only at ſuch a Time, as the Laws of our Country are armed againſt our Religion. What have we to do with the *Thebæan* Legion? Bleſſed be God, who has made the difference; but I ask again, What have we to do with their Example? Are we to Sacrifice, or go to Maſs to Morrow, or elſe to have our Throats cut? Are we under the Sentence of Death, according to the Laws of our Country, if we do not preſently renounce our Religion? Poor Men they were! and though they died as glorious Martyrs, in reſpect of their Religion, yet they died as Criminals, and Malefactors, in the Eye of the Law. I hope many good Proteſtants would make a ſhift to die for their Religion, though it may be not with the gallantry that theſe Soul-

diers

diers did, if they were in the like ſad Circumſtances, and had the Laws againſt them; but till then, they throw away their Lives, and are certainly weary of them, if they practiſe any ſuch Paſſive Obedience. And the truth of it is, we juſtly deſerve to be ſo uſed, as the *Thebæan* Legion was, and moreover to be loaded with the Curſes of all Poſterity, if we ſuffer our ſelves to be brought into that condition. For that can never happen, but by our own treachery to our Religion, in parting with thoſe good Laws which protect it, and in agreeing to ſuch as ſhall deſtroy it.

When a Man is condemned by God and his Country, in a due courſe of Law, it is time for him to die, and he ought willingly to ſubmit to the Laws of the Land, (for every Man enjoys the benefit and protection of them upon thoſe terms; and *Job* lays down a great Rule of Equity, when he asks, Shall we receive Good Things at the Hand of God, and not likewiſe Evil?) But if a Man be illegally aſſaulted, in the way of Violence and Aſſaſſination, he may uſe all lawful Remedies to defend himſelf.

It

It is a currant Notion among the Fathers, that we ought to spare our Persecutors, and not suffer them to be guilty of Murder. *Gregory* gives that as a very good reason of *Marcus*'s flight from *Arethusa*. And St. *Chrysostom* introduces *David*, speaking after this manner, when he fled from *Saul*, and as the Scripture tells us, had *Goliah*'s great Sword with him, and put himself into a posture of Defence: *It is better for me to be miserable, and to suffer more hardships, than that* Saul *should be condemned by God for the Murder of an Innocent Person.* And that he meant no more, than only to prevent the effusion of Innocent Blood, appears by the several Opportunities he had to have cut off *Saul*, but the sense of his Duty made him abhor the least thought of it. He only sought his own safety and preservation, which he could not abandon, without being accessary to *Saul*'s murdering of him. There is no question, but it is every Man's Duty to prevent the murder of any Innocent Person, and especially of himself, by all the ways and means, which the Laws of God, and of his Country, do allow; and if he do not, he is a kind

Invect. 1. *Chrysost.* Hom. περὶ ἀνεξικακίας. Vol. 2. p. 1015.

kind of *felo de ſe*, and guilty of his own murder. We are to ſuffer Perſecution (εἰ θέλοι τοῦτο) if need be, as St. *Peter*'s words are, and not elſe. Now I humbly conceive, being the Writ, *de Hæretico Comburendo* is taken away in time, and the Laws protect us in our Religion, that it will be a very needleſs thing to go to *Smithfield*, and there be burnt for an Heretick. 1 *Epiſt.* 1 *chap.* *verſ.* 6.

And ſo far it is fit to inform the Popiſh Crew (for we have no apprehenſions of Perſecution from any other Quarter) leſt they ſhould be miſtaken in the **good Proteſtant Religion of our good Church**, as *Coleman* calls it in his Declaration. No doubt they would beſtow more good words upon us, if we would be all Paſſive Proteſtants; for then the fewer active Papiſts would ſerve to diſpatch us. But moſt Men are ſatisfied, that Arch-biſhop *Abbot*'s Doctrine was much more the good Proteſtant Religion of our good Church, than Dr. *Sibthorp*'s; and that Dr. *Manwaring* was Orthodox when he Recanted, but by no means when he preached his *Pulpit Law*. For that Name the Great and Loyal Lord *Faulkland*, long before the War broke out,

out, was pleased to bestow upon such mischievous flattery; which he then complained had almost ruined the Nation, and it can never be good for any thing else in any Age. And yet the Arbitrary Doctrine of those Times did not bring any great terror along with it, it was then but a Rake, and served only to scrape up a little paltry Passive Mony from the Subject, but now it is become a Murdering-piece, loaden with no Body knows how many Bullets. And that the Patrons of it may not complain that it is an *exploded Doctrine*, as if Men only hooted at it, but could not answer it, I shall stay to speak a little more to it.

P. 13.

'Tis true, this Doctrine cannot discover its malignity under his Majesty's Gracious Reign, which God prolong and prosper, who has been pleased to give the Nation the security of his Coronation Oath, which we know all Protestant Princes value and look upon as Sacred, and likewise of many Gracious Promises, that He will govern according to Law. But in case we should be so sharply punished for our Sins, as to fall under a Popish Successor, then this Bloody Doctrine will have

have the opportunity to ſhew it ſelf in its own Colours, and we may then ſee, and it may be, feel the ſting of it.

For, *firſt*, I ſuppoſe theſe Men will allow a Popiſh Succeſſor, when he is in poſſeſſion, to be a *Lawful Magiſtrate*; becauſe, according to them, it is not lawful, no not for the King and Parliament, to exclude him.

2*dly*, I ſuppoſe that this Lawful Magiſtrate will *perſecute* Proteſtants; for by ſo doing, he does God and the Church good Service, he merits Heaven; he cannot better teſtify the truth and reality of his Converſion: Nay, if he does not perſecute Hereticks with Fire and Sword, he lies at the Pope's Mercy to have his Kingdom taken from him; and further, he is in danger to be ſo ſerved, as the two *Henries* of *France* were. However, becauſe ſome Perſons are ſo happy as to believe that he will not *perſecute!* no; he will protect the Church of *England* as it is now eſtabliſhed by Law, and be a Mighty Defender of the Faith; I ſhall be contented with what every Body muſt grant, that he *may perſecute*, that the thing is poſſible.

3*dly*, In

3*dly*, In this case all Protestants cannot *fly*, they will not be all in travelling case; and if they were, the Ports may be stopt, the Writ *ne exeas Regnum* may be serv'd upon them; and besides, many may be perswaded that they ought not to *fly*, and leave their Native Country naked and defenceless, and expose it to a Conquest; they may likewise believe it a thing of very ill Consequence, *perdere Patriam*, which no Man in *England* is bound to do.

4*thly*, Now we are taught in this Case, That if Men do not over-run their Country, there is nothing but *Death* or *Damnation* at home; or, as it
P. 8. is in their own words. 'Neither doth 'the Gospel prescribe any Remedy but 'flight, against the Persecutions of the 'lawful Magistrate, allowing of no 'other mean, when we cannot escape 'betwixt denying, and dying for the 'Faith.

What the Gospel prescribes is one thing, what it allows is another; there are ten thousand things allowed by the Gospel, not one of which is prescribed by it, Inditements, Appeals, suing for Tythes; in a word, all

all humane Conſtitutions, which are not morally Evil. But it ſeems the Goſpel does not ſo much as allow any mean, when we cannot eſcape by flight, betwixt denying and dying for the Faith. As for denying the Faith, that is down-right Deſtruction, both of Body and Soul, and therefore is not to be thought of, as being the far greater extremity of the two. And ſo welcom Death! But by what Law muſt we die? Not by any Law of God ſurely, for being of that Religion which he approves, and would have all the World to embrace, and to hold faſt to the end. Nor by the Laws of our Countrey, where Proteſtancy is ſo far from being Criminal, that it is Death to deſert it and to turn Papiſt. By what Law then? By none that I know of, but Paraſites, Sycophants, and Murderers may. For it is plain, that every Proteſtant, who is perſecuted to Death in theſe Circumſtances, is barbarouſly murdered. If they can tell us therefore, who it is, in that Caſe, that ſhall have Authority to commit open, bare-faced, and down-right Murders, they will then direct us where to pay our Paſſive

Obedience. It would be the horridest slander in the World, to say, that any such Power is lodged in the Prerogative, as to destroy Men contrary to Law. The Prerogative is no such boundless bottomless Pit of Arbitrary Power and Self-will, but it is limited, stated, and certain, and as well known as other parts of the Law; and it is fit it should be so, that the Subject may not offend against it. It is the Glory of the Crown, and is intended to be for the Benefit, Quiet, and Safety of the People, to save innocent Lives, and not to destroy them. There is no Authority upon Earth above the Law, much less against it; and that this Doctor might have seen, if he had pleased to have read on in that very Chapter of *Bracton*, which he makes use of without citing the place. What he says concerning the King is very true, and readily acknowledged by every English Man; *Omnis sub eo est, & ipse sub nullo, nisi tantùm sub Deo. Bracton* does not barely assert it, but he shews the reason of it in these words; *Parem autem non habet in Regno suo, quia sic amitteret præceptum, cum par in parem non habet imperium. Item nec multo fortiùs*

P. 29. *Bracton.* l. 1. c. 8.

fortiùs ſuperiorem, nec potentiorem, habere debet. So in another place, *Rex parem non habet, nec vicinum, nec ſuperiorem.* He likewiſe often uſes theſe Expreſſions, *Rex eſt Vicarius Dei. Dei Miniſter & Vicarius.* But *Bracton* is ſo far from ſetting God's Vicegerent above the Law, that among other Reaſons, he enforces his being under the Law from that very Title, which is the greateſt upon Earth, in the forementioned *Chap.* 8. he has theſe words; *Ipſe autem Rex non debet eſſe ſub homine, ſed ſub Deo, & ſub Lege, quia Lex facit Regem. Attribuat ergo Rex legi quod Lex attribuit ei, videlicet dominationem & poteſtatem. Non eſt enim Rex ubi dominatur voluntas & non Lex. Et quod ſub Lege eſſe debeat, cùm ſit Dei Vicarius, evidenter apparet ad exemplum Ieſu Chriſti, cujus vices gerit in terrâ, &c. qui noluit uti viribus ſed ratione & judicio.* Nay, he will not allow him to be God's Vicegerent any longer, than he acts according to Law; ſpeaking of the King, he ſays, *Poteſtas ſua juris eſt, non injuria. Exercere igitur debet Rex poteſtatem juris, ſicut Dei Vicarius & Miniſter in terrâ, quia illa poteſtas ſolius Dei eſt, poteſtas autem*

Lib. 2. cap. 22.

Lib. 1. cap. 2.

Lib. 2. cap. 24.

Lib. 1. cap 8.

Lib. 3. c. 9.

autem injuriæ Diaboli & non Dei, & cujus horum opera fecerit Rex, ejus Minister erit, cujus opera fecerit. Igitur dum facit justitiam Vicarius est Regis æterni, Minister autem Diaboli, dum declinet ad injuriam. So that this Popish Successor we are speaking of, can have no Authority to exercise any illegal Cruelty upon Protestants, and how far an Inauthoritative Act, which carries no Obligation at all, can oblige Men to Obedience, I desire the Doctor to resolve. For it is an undeniable Maxim, *Where there is no Law, there is no Transgression.* I freely and readily acknowledg, that according to the known Laws of *England*, this Popish Prince, when he is lawfully possest of the Crown, will be inviolable and unaccountable, as to his own Person, and ought by no means to have any Violence offered to him; for *who can do that*, as *David* says of an Anointed King, *and be guiltless?* So that if a Man be reduced to those Straits, as either to lose his Life, or contract Guilt by keeping it, he ought to die, and his time is come. But this must needs be a rare Case, which can seldom happen; for bad Princes are hardly ever

ever known to ſtoop ſo low, as to be the Executioners of their own Cruelty, they generally reſerve themſelves for a better Office. And how far Men may endeavour notwithſtanding to ſave themſelves, without breach of their Allegiance, and of that true Faith and Loyalty which they ought to bear of Life, and Limb, and terrene Honour, if they have a mind to know, they may ask advice.

But though we are out of our pain, as to this firſt difficulty, yet ſtill there is nothing but deſpair left behind; for *him that eſcapeth the Sword of* Hazael, *ſhall* Jehu *ſlay*; *and him that eſcapeth from the Sword of* Jehu, *ſhall* Eliſha *ſlay*. For we are told, that the P. 8. Goſpel, by its own Confeſſion, 'is a 'Suffering Doctrine, and ſo far from 'being prejudicial to *Cæſar*'s Authori-'ty, that it makes him the Miniſter of 'God, and commands all its Profeſ-'ſors to give him, and all that are put 'in Authority under him, their Dues, 'and rather die than reſiſt them by 'force. At this rate, under a Popiſh Succeſſor, the Lives of all Proteſtants ſhall lie at the Mercy of every Juſtice of Peace, Conſtable, or Tything-man,

who shall have Catholick Zeal enough to destroy them. Every Commission-Officer, and Janizary, shall kill and slay without resistance. I never knew this before, that our Throats were the Dues and Perquisites of their places, and that another Man is bound to stand still and suffer himself to be murdered, while they only give him a cast of their Office. We readily acknowledg, that no Inferior Magistrate is to be resisted in the exercise of his Office, so far as he is warranted by Law; but illegal Force may be repelled by Force, if you will believe *Bracton*, who has these words; *Ei qui vult viribus uti, erit viriliter resistendum.* Who likewise tells us, *Armorum quædam sunt tuitionis*; which he after calls, *Arma pacis & justitiæ*, in the hands of private Men for their own Defence; and adds, *Quod quis ob tutelam sui corporis fecerit, vel sui juris, juste fecisse videtur.* This is in the Case of violent Disseysin; and I hope a Man's Life is his most valuable Free-hold, of which if he be disseysed, he shall hardly be restored by any legal Remedy afterward.

Bract. l. 4. c. 4.

All

All the World knows that it is a misfortune for a Man, in his own lawful Defence, to kill another, but it is neither Murder nor Felony; whereas it is Murder even in a Magiſtrate to kill any Man, if it be not done in due courſe of Law. And through the help of God, though we cannot hinder the Papiſts from being Idolaters, we will endeavour to keep them from being Murderers, they ſhall not have that to anſwer for too.

Is the Doctor ſerious, and in earneſt, when he teaches and preaches up Paſſive Obedience for Evangelical in this Caſe? Would he really have Men proſtitute their Lives to Malice and Violence, when all the Laws of God, and of the Kingdom, protect them? Surely this is too light for the Pulpit, and is juſt ſuch another piece of Drollery, as that which was dedicated to *Oliver Cromwell*, in the Book called, *Killing no Murder*. Where the Ingenious Author offers *Oliver* many convincing and ſatisfying Reaſons, why he ſhould kill himſelf, and very fairly gives him his choice, of Hanging, Drowning, or Piſtolling himſelf, ſhews him the abſolute Neceſſity of it,

the Honour he would gain by it; and in a word, uses such Arguments, as might have prevailed upon any Body but an hardened Rebel. Bating that Dedication, I never met with any thing like this Passive Doctrine, for wheedling a Man out of his Life. *Gregory* says, 'That *Julian* stole a Perse-
Orat. 10 p. 166 'cution upon the Christians, under a 'shew of gentleness, for he always 'disclaimed his being a Persecutor. And we, for ought I know, may be exposed to the bloodiest Persecution that ever was, under the meek pretences of Passive Obedience. For as a worthy Person has lately observed; *One single Arm, unresisted, may go a great way in Massacring a Nation.* But how many irresistable Arms will there be lifted up against us under a Popish Successor, when every petty Popish Officer, according to this Doctrine, shall be an Absolute Emperor, and have the Power of Life and Death? It is a Doctrine fit to turn a Nation into a Shambles, and enough to tempt and invite Tyranny and Cruelty into the World. For let a Prince be either a Papist, or an Atheist, and his Subjects well fetter'd and manacled with this

this ſlaviſh Principle; and then what hinders, but the one of them may deſtroy Millions for their Eſtates and Hereſy together, and the other as many, to ſee what ugly faces and grimaces they will make. The Lives of the beſt Men in the World ſhall be expoſed to the fiery and ambitious Zeal of a Papiſt, or the extravagant and unaccountable humours of a Wretch; and hang at their Girdle, as Souls do at the Pope's.

If the Doctor looks upon theſe as excepted Caſes, why did he not except them; why did he not particularly except the Caſe of a Popiſh Succeſſor, the Miſchiefs of which, it has been the care of ſeveral Parliaments to prevent, and of which we have ſuch a diſmal proſpect, that it makes every honeſt Man's Heart to ake. But I am afraid this Doctrine is calculated and fitted on purpoſe for the uſe of a Popiſh Succeſſor, and to make us an eaſier Prey to the Bloody Papiſts. For why elſe is there all that Wrath againſt every little Pamphlet which oppoſes that Intereſt?

How comes the *Hiſtory of the Succeſſion* to be an Impious and Treaſonable P. 29.

ble Book, and the *Dialogue between Tutor and Pupil* another? Why the firſt is an Impious and Treaſonable Book, becauſe it ſhews how the Succeſſion has been alterable in all Ages. And this is ſo far from being an Impious or Treaſonable Aſſertion, that it was impious High Treaſon, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, to ſay the contrary; and is ſtill Impiety, and forfeiture of Goods and Chattels at this day. Which is far from making the Monarchy Elective, as the Doctor might eaſily have underſtood, if he had read the Ancient Hiſtorians of *England*, inſtead of *Diſſenters Sayings*. He would likewiſe have found it poſſible to write an Hiſtory of the Succeſſion, without borrowing from *Doleman*, and impoſſible to write it, without having a great many paſſages, which *Doleman* has got into his Book.

For that is the true meaning of ſitting, till all Grievances are redreſſed, and Petitions anſwered.

And the other is an Impious and Treaſonable Book, for ſaying, *That Parliaments ſhould ſit till they have done that for which they are called, and ſit, and were originally intended.* But theſe Men are not for a Popiſh Succeſſor, and ſo they and their Books, and whatever they have ſaid, is to be blaſted

blaſted with the names of Impious and Treaſonable. He talks as if he were already arrived at that Age, in which theſe Books will be ſure to be called Treaſon, and the Authors uſed accordingly, unleſs they make haſte and die out of the way, as my Lord *Hollis* has done, who is another of his Impious and Treaſonable Authors.

However, let the Deſign of preaching up Paſſive Obedience, and the Example of the *Thebæan* Legion, at this Time eſpecially, be what it will; if the Papiſts taking us to be all Paſſive, and a fine glib and eaſy Morſel, ſhall try to ſwallow up innocent Men quick, it is my hearty deſire that they may find themſelves choak'd. For where is it ſaid, in the Word of the Lord, which theſe Men cannot go beyond, that the World was made only for *Banditi*, or that we are to yield up our ſelves to Cut-throats and Aſſaſſinates, which the Papiſts have ever been to poor Proteſtants; and how many hundred thouſands they have maſſacred I know not; but this I know, that they never did, nor ever will maſſacre more or leſs than juſt as many as they can.

To

To leave a Matter of this importance as clear as may be, in such an occasional and accidental Discourse, I shall reduce the strength and force of what has been said, into these following Propositions.

1. Christianity destroys no Man's Natural or Civil Rights, but confirms them.

2. All Men have both a Natural and Civil Right and Property in their Lives, till they have forfeited them by the Laws of their Country.

3. When the Laws of God, and of our Country, interfere; and it is made Death by the Law of the Land to be a good Christian, then we are to lay down our Lives for Christ's sake. This is the only Case wherein the Gospel requires Passive Obedience, namely, when the Laws are against a Man. And this was the Case of the first Christians.

4. That

4. That the killing of a Man, contrary to Law, is Murder.

5. That every Man is bound to prevent Murder, as far as the Law allows, and ought not to ſubmit to be murdered if he can help it.

And now I ſhall deſire thoſe Men, who of late have thundred in all publick Places with the *Thebæan* Legion, to keep that compleat and admirable Example, (for which, thanks be to God, we have no occaſion) till they have gotten another *Maximian*, and till that *Maximian* has gotten Authority to cut ſuch an unconſcionable number of Throats, as 6666 at one time.

I have many more Exceptions againſt their Artillery of Prayers and Tears, then I can now ſtay to inſiſt upon.

Firſt, There are only Tears mentioned, where they quote Prayers too. *Greg.* Invect. 1. p. 57. *Eton.*

2*dly*, The

2*dly*, The passage has nothing at all of that sense which they put upon it, speaking of the grievous things *Julian* designed against the Christians; but, says *Gregory*, he was hindred by the Goodness of God, and the Tears of Christians, which were shed in great plenty by many, who had this only Remedy against the Persecutor. They had no other way to help themselves; What then? Does not *Gregory* complain in another place, that they were strip'd of all humane Aid; they had no other Wall, nor Weapon, nor Defence left them, but their hope in God? For besides, that *Julian* had gotten all the Strength of the Empire into his Hands, there seems to have been a general Revolt from Christianity, almost like that in Queen *Mary*'s Time; which makes St. *Asterius* say, *Quantus ab Ecclesiâ ad altaria factus est concursus? Quam multi per honorum escam & illecebras unà cum ipso transgressionis hamum devorarunt?* What then would they have a few defenceless Christians do, when they had lost all their Strength, and so many of their Numbers? Have they never heard

Invect. 2. *p.* 100. *Eron.*

Homil. contra Avaritiam.

heard a Weſt-Countryman ſay, Thud eat Theeſe an thad it?

3dly, It is very odd they ſhould quote this ſcrap out of *Gregory*'s *Invectives*. Believe me, they muſt look out very ſharp, who could find out ſuch a Daiſy as this in a whole Field of Nettles. For never were two ſuch Thunderbolts in this World ſent after a Perſecutor, as thoſe two Speeches are.

4thly, Whether they did not make uſe of ſome few other Ingredients, beſides Tears and Prayers too, in their Compoſition againſt a Perſecutor; I refer my ſelf to the Matter of Fact related in the former part of this Book.

And, *laſtly*, I do earneſtly deſire them to take heed, how they recommend *Gregory*'s Prayers and Tears to the World; for, I declare, they are no better than Treaſon by our Law: They were ſuch as did imagine and compaſs *Julian*'s Death. If they would have theſe Prayers and Tears believed to be in favour of *Julian*, they deceive the World; and if they recommend them, ſuch as they are, to

to People's use, I do again, as a Friend, give them fair warning.

The Protestants in Queen *Mary's* Days, found their short disjunctive Prayer made High Treason, *ex post Facto*, though they prayed, in the first place, *That God would turn her Heart from Idolatry; and in case that were not done, then to take her out of the way.* Whereas I do not find that there is one single wish among the Ancients for *Julian's* Conversion, but all for his down-right destruction.

The Preamble of that Act in Queen *Mary's* Time has some remarkable Passages in it, which for the Reader's ease I shall here set down, and so conclude this whole Matter.

Philip *and* Mary.

Ann. 1, & 2. *Phil.* & *Mar.* cap. 9.

FOrasmuch as now of late, divers naughty, seditious, malicious, and heretical Persons, not having the Fear of God before their Eyes, but in a devilish sort, contrary to the duty of their Allegiance, have congregated themselves together in Conventicles, in

in divers and sundry prophane Places within this City of London, esteeming themselves to be in the true Faith, where indeed they are in Errors and Heresies, and out of the true Trade of Christ's Catholick Religion; and in the same Places, at several times, using their phantastical and schismatical Services, lately taken away and abolished by Authority of Parliament, have, of their most malicious and cankered Stomacks, prayed against the Queen's Majesty, That God would turn her Heart from Idolatry to the true Faith, or else to shorten her days, or take her quickly out of the way. Which Prayer was never heard or read to have been used by any good Christian Man against any Prince, though he were a Pagan and an Infidel; and much less against any Christian Prince, and especially so vertuous a Princess as our Soveraign Lady that now is, is known to be, whose Faith is, and always hath been, most True and Catholick, and Consonant, and agreeing with Christ's Catholick Church throughout the World dispersed.

Be it enacted, That every such Person and Persons, which since the beginning of this Parliament, have prayed, required, or desired, as aforesaid, shall be adjudged High Traytors, &c. as also their Procurors and Abbettors therein.

I shall only observe from hence, that these blind Papists were as much out in thinking these Prayers unprecedented, and of the first Impression, as they afterwards found they were in Queen *Mary*'s Reckoning. And from the rest, the Reader may please to make his own Observations.

A

A COMPARISON OF Popery and Paganism.

The Introduction.

WELl, what is all this to us? may ſome Men ſay. Here is a great deal of adoe about a Pagan Succeſſor: but Papiſts are Chriſtians, and a true Church of Chriſt, only corrupt. O that Biſhop *Ridly* were alive to hear them! if it be lawful to wiſh a good Man out of Heaven, to come and do good upon a degenerate Age: He would tell them what Chriſtians the Papiſts are. 'Wolves, 'Thieves, Church-robbers, Enemies 'of Chriſt, the brood of Antichriſt; 'ſuch Chriſtians with him they are. *In* Fox. *Vol* 3. p. 515. *and all over the Biſhop's Writings.*

And it is a Church; 'The Babyloni-
'cal Beast and Whore, a deviliſh Drab,
'a ſtinking Strumpet, ſpiritually *Egypt*
'and *Sodom*, the Seat of Satan; ſuch
a Church it is. And theſe he tells the
Lords of Parliament, are not angry
and railing Expreſſions, of a Man *de-
ſperate and in anguiſh*, but the words
of a dying Man, and the very truth of
the matter. And therefore who can
doubt, but revolting from the Prote-
ſtant, which, as Dr. *Hicks* tells us, *is
but another Name for the Primitive
Chriſtian Religion*; and herding with
theſe Enemies of Chriſtianity, does en-
title a Man to the Name of an Apo-
ſtate, as well as it did *Julian*? That
brave Biſhop and Martyr, we ſpoke of,
was clearly of that mind, as you may
ſee by this Paſſage in his Letter to
Mr. *Weſt*, ſometime his Chaplain:
which I wiſh every Body would lay
to heart. 'I like very well your
'plain ſpeaking, wherein you ſay that
'I muſt agree or die. I ſay unto you,
'in the Word of the Lord, That if
'you do not confeſs and maintain, to
'your Power and Knowledg, that
'which is grounded upon God's Word;
'but will, either for fear or gain of
'the

Dedicat. Serm. Jan. 30.

'the World, shrink and play the *Apo-*
'*stata*, indeed you shall die the Death;
'you know what I mean. And his Apostacy agreed so ill with him, that this Martyr, who lay under the Sentence of Death, out-lived him.

But we may very well let him, and all the other Glorious Martyrs, rest in peace; for we have store of living Authorities. The whole Clergy of *England*, who have subscribed, with Hand and Heart, to the Homilies, *as containing a godly, wholesom, and necessary Doctrine for these Times*; and by Name, to those against the Peril of Idolatry, have consequently declared it as their Judgment, which I hope they are still ready to maintain; That the Church of Rome, as it is presently, and hath bin for the space of nine hundred Years and odd, is so far wide from the nature of the true Church, that nothing can be more. That it is an Idolatrous Church, not only an Harlot, (as the Scripture calls her) but also a foul, filthy, old, withered Harlot, and the Mother of Whoredom, guilty of the same Idolatry and worse, then was among Ethnicks and Gentiles: and abundantly

35 *Article of the Church of* England.

2d part Hom. for Whitsun. p. 213.

Peril of Idolatry, p. 69. p. 71. & p. 54.

more to the ſame purpoſe, which I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to quote. And to name no more, we have the honourable Teſtimony of my Lord Chief Juſtice *Pemberton*, That Popery is a *Religion ten times worſe than all the Heatheniſh Superſtitions*. Which is ſo great a Truth, and ſo ſeaſonable, and coming from ſo great a Man, that it deſerves to be written in Letters of Gold.

Plunket's *Trial*, p. 100.

And if Popery be ten times worſe than all the Heatheniſh Superſtitions; then I am ſure we do no worſe than the Primitive Chriſtians, if we have ten times a greater averſion for a Popiſh Succeſſor, than they had for their *Julian*. And yet if it be but equal, I think it will ſerve the turn: and therefore it will be ſufficient to prove Popery as bad as Paganiſm; though if in ſo doing I prove it much worſe, I cannot help that.

It would be endleſs to run through all the Particulars of both theſe Religions, and to compare them together. I ſhall chuſe therefore to inſiſt upon thoſe things wherein they mainly agree, and wherein they are removed at the greateſt diſtance from Chriſtianity:

nity: and they are *Polytheism*, *Idolatry*, and *Cruelty*, which I shall treat of in order.

CHAP. X.

Their Polytheism.

WHen-ever Paganism is named, the most obvious thing in it, and that which comes first to our Thoughts, is the multitude of Gods which they worshipped. And that the Papists have herein equalled and out-done the old Pagans,

I shall first shew, is the publick and professed Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

And, secondly, I shall demonstrate the truth of it.

First; That the Papists are gross *Polytheists*, and worship a vast number of false Gods, is the publick and professed Doctrine of the Church of *England*: And he that doubts of this, never read the *Homilies*; which I shall take this occasion to recommend to

every Bodies reading, as one of the best Books that I know in the World next the Bible, and in the mean time shall set down several passages at large, which plainly shew what is the Doctrine of the Church in this point. In the third part of the Sermon against *Peril of Idolatry*, you have these words:

Hom. Tom. 2. p. 46. And for that Idolatry standeth chiefly in the mind, it shall in this part first be proved, that our Image-maintainers have had, and have the same Opinions and Judgments of Saints, whose Images they have made and worshipped, as the Gentiles Idolaters had of their Gods. And afterwards shall be declared, That our Image-maintainers and worshippers, have used, and use the same outward Rites of honouring and worshipping their Images, as the Gentiles did use before their Idols, and that therefore they commit Idolatry, as well inwardly and outwardly, as did the wicked Gentiles Idolaters.

And concerning the first part of the Idolatrous Opinions of our Image-maintainers. What I pray you be such Saints with us, to whom we attribute

tribute the defence of certain Countries, spoiling God of his due Honour herein, but Dii tutelares of the Gentiles Idolaters? Such as were Belus to the Babylonians and Assyrians, Osiris and Isis to the Egyptians, Vulcane to the Lemnians, and to such other.

What be such Saints to whom the safeguard of certain Cities are appointed, but Dii Præsides with the Gentiles Idolaters? Such as were at Delphos, Apollo; at Athens, Minerva; at Cathage, Juno; at Rome, Quirinus, &c. What be such Saints, to whom, contrary to the use of the Primitive Church, Temples and Churches be builded, and Altars erected, but Dii Patroni, of the Gentiles Idolaters? Such as were in the Capitol Jupiter, in Paphus Temple Venus, in Ephesus Temple Diana, and such like. Alas, we seem in thus thinking and doing, to have learned our Religion, not out of God's Word, but out of the Pagan Poets, who say, Excessere omnes adytis, arisque relictis, Dii quibus imperium hoc steterat, &c. That is to say, All the Gods, by whose defence this Empire stood, are gone out of the Temples, and

and have forsaken their Altars. And where one Saint hath Images in divers places, the same Saint hath divers Names thereof, most like to the Gentiles. When you hear of our Lady of Walsingham, our Lady of Ipswich, our Lady of Wilsdon, and such other: What is it but an imitation of the Gentiles Idolaters? Diana Agrotera, Diana Coriphea, Diana Ephesia, &c. Venus Cypria, Venus Paphia, Venus Gnidia. Whereby is evidently meant, that the Saint for the Image sake, should in those places, yea, in the Images themselves, have a dwelling, which is the ground of their Idolatry. For where no Images be, they have no such means. Terentius Varro sheweth, that there were three hundred Jupiters in his Time, there were no fewer Veneres and Dianæ, we had no fewer Christophers, Ladies, and Mary Magdalenes, and other Saints. Oenomanus and Hesiodus shew, that in their Time there were thirty thousand Gods. I think we had no fewer Saints, to whom we gave the honour due to God. And they have not only spoiled the true living God of his due honour,

nour, in Temples, Cities, Countries, and Lands, by such Devices and Inventions as the Gentiles Idolaters have done before them: But the Sea and Waters have as well special Saints with them, as they had Gods with the Gentiles, Neptune, Triton, Nereus, Castor and Pollux, Venus, and such other. In whose places become Saint Christopher, Saint Clement, and divers other, and specially our Lady, to whom Shipmen sing Ave Maris stella. Neither hath the Fire scaped the idolatrous inventions. For instead of Vulcan and Vesta, the Gentiles Gods of the Fire, our Men have placed Saint Agatha, and make Letters on her day for to quench Fire with. Every Artificer and Profession hath his special Saint, as a peculiar God. As for Example, Scholars have Saint Nicholas and Saint Gregory; Painters, Saint Luke; neither lack Souldiers their Mars, nor Lovers their Venus, amongst Christians.

All Diseases have their special Saints, as Gods, the curers of them. The Pox, Saint Roche; the Falling-Evil, St. Cornelis; the Tooth-

ach,

ache, Saint Appolin, &c. Neither do Beasts and Cattel lack their Gods with us, for Saint Loy is the Horse-leach, and Saint Anthony the Swine-herd, &c. Where is God's Providence and due Honour in the mean season? who saith, The Heavens be mine, and the Earth is mine, &c. But we have left him neither Heaven, nor Earth, nor Water, nor Country, nor City, Peace nor War, to rule and govern, neither Men, nor Beasts, nor their Diseases to Cure, that a Godly Man might justly for zealous indignation cry out, O Heaven, O Earth, and Seas, what madness and wickedness against God are Men fallen into? What dishonour do the Creatures to their Creator and Maker? And if we remember God sometime, yet because we doubt of his Ability or Will to help, we join to him another Helper, as if he were a Nown Adjective, using these sayings; Such as Learn, God and Saint Nicholas be my speed: such as Neese, God help and Saint John: To the Horse, God and Saint Loy save thee. Thus are we become like Horses and Mules, which have no understanding. For, is there

not

not one God only, who by his Power and Wisdom made all things, and by his Providence governeth the same? and by his goodness maintaineth and saveth them? Be not all Things of him, by him, and through him? Why dost thou turn from the Creatour to the Creatures? This is the manner of the Gentiles Idolaters; but thou art a Christian, and therefore by Christ alone hast access to God the Father, and help of him only. These things are not written to any reproach of the Saints themselves, who were the true Servants of God, and did give all honour to him, taking none unto themselves, and are blessed Souls with God: but against our foolishness and wickedness, making of the true Servants of God, false Gods, by attributing to them the Power and Honour which is God's, and due to him only.

And after more to the same purpose there are these words.

If answer be made, That they make Saints but Intercessours to God, and means for such things as they would obtain of God: that is, even after the Gentiles idolatrous Pag. 48.

usage,

usage, to make them of Saints, Gods, called Dii Medioximi, to be mean Intercessors and Helpers to God, &c.

There cannot be a fuller Charge of *Polytheism* than this is, which is here drawn up against the Papists, for making Gods of the Saints; nay, for making as very Devils of them, as ever any of the Heathen Gods were. From which they cannot clear themselves, with their *lewd distinction*, as the *Homily* calls it, of *Latria & Dulia*,

Ibid. *p.* 50. for it is evident that the Saints of God cannot abide, that as much as any outward worshipping be done or exhibited to them.

A little after, P. 50. And to attribute such desire of divine Honour to Saints, is to blot them with a most odious and devilish ignominy and villany, and indeed of Saints, to make them Satans and very Devils, whose property is to challenge to themselves the honour which is due to God only.

So far the Papists are even with the Gentiles Idolatry, and as deep in *Po-*

Pag. 54. *lytheism* as they: But in many points also they have far exceeded them in all wickedness, foolishness, and madness.

Parti-

Particularly **in this they pass the folly and wickedness of the Gentiles, that they honour and worship the Reliques and Bones of our Saints, which prove that they be mortal Men and dead, and therefore no Gods to be worshipped, which the Gentiles would never confess of their Gods for very shame.** And after a great many ridiculous practices of theirs, in reference to these Reliques, are reckoned up, the *Homily* concludes that they are, **not only more wicked than the Gentiles Idolaters, but also no wiser than Asses, Horses, and Mules, which have no understanding.** Pag. 53. Pag. 54.

I have been the more copious in these Citations, to shew that this is the standing Doctrine of the Church of *England*, to which all Orders of the Clergy have all along subscribed; and is not one Doctor's Opinion, or the conceit of any private Man. But because the Judgment of our Heretical Church signifies nothing to Papists; who will likewise be sure to treat us as such when time serves, though now they have the treacherous impudence to pretend a mighty Zeal for us, when

at

at the ſame time we are ſatisfied they are making their approaches to our Lives: I have another ſort of proof for them, made up out of their own Oracles and Infallibility, with the help of a little common ſenſe.

Socr. l. 3. c. 23. καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποθεῶν τὴν πορφύριον. Ἵλεως γὰρ φησιν ὁ τύριος εἴη προκρίνοντος αὐτοῦ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως βιβλία.

Socrates taxes *Libanius* for making *Porphyry* a God, only becauſe he once uſed theſe words; 'Let the *Tyrian* be 'merciful to me for preferring the Em-'peror *Julian*'s Works before his. What would he have ſaid, if he had known any thing of the Popiſh Devotions, where they invocate their Saints every day, and beg a thouſand times more at their hands than this comes to? And it is from that practice I mean to demonſtrate their groſs *Polytheiſm*.

Firſt; Their bare Invocation of the Saints makes them Gods; becauſe thereby they beſtow Divine Attributes upon them.

Secondly; The Matter of their Prayers beſtows ſeveral others.

Firſt; The bare Invocation of their Saints, and praying to them, is making them Gods, and beſtowing Divine At-

Attributes upon them. And I am willing, in the first place, to take their Invocation at the very lowest: because though in their publick Prayers and Liturgies, they often pray to their Saints to demand and command, and make them Partners with God, and give them a divided Empire with him; yet in their Apologies, not being able to justify such abominable Sacrilege, they are content to lower their Saints, and to place them in the rank of Suppliants, and then their Invocation is no more then *prier pour prier*. Well, be it so for the present, for this gives them the Attributes of Omnipresence and Omniscience, which belong to God alone.

C. Perrone Replique au Roy Jaques.

First; Of *Omnipresence*. It is notorious that the Papists, in all parts of the World, familiarly make their Addresses to the Virgin *Mary*; whereby they suppose her present, both here, and in the *Indies*, & in all Countries between; that she gives audience in this and the lower Hemisphear at once, and in millions of distant places in both, besides her Presence Chambers, such as *Loretto*, *Hall*, *&c.* and innumerable Altars, where she does especially

reside; and is notwithstanding in Heaven all the while. Now what can an Infinite Being do more? What other Ubiquity do we ascribe to God? That the very Act of directing their Prayers to Saints, implies this Ubiquity, is very plain; for they immediately apply themselves to the Saints, that they may obtain their mediation to God. So that their Prayers are not intended to be conveyed by God to the Saints, but to come directly to them, and by them to be recommended to God. And for that reason, in the *Trent* Catechism they are called *Internuntii & Patroni, Interpretes & Deprecatores ad Deum.* For to make God their Messenger to the Saints, (as he must be, if these Prayers do not come directly to them) and to have him convey *Ora pro nobis*'s, is no good Court fashion, from whence we are told they take their Pattern; and would very ill comply with that profound reverence towards God, and keeping of due distance, and avoiding abrupt approaches to him, which is the great pretence for flying to the mediation of Saints and Angels.

Rom. Catechism. p. 297. p. 394.

Secondly;

2*dly*, The bare Invocation of their Saints ſuppoſes their *Omniſcience*. For (to ſay nothing of the Council of *Trent*'s decreeing mental Prayer to be uſed to them) it is not to be thought that the Saints will prefer Hypocritical Prayers to God, and ſuch as are an abomination to him; and therefore it is neceſſary for them to know Mens Hearts. Now not only the Scripture attributes this as proper and peculiar to God; ſo *Solomon* ſays, *Thou only knoweſt the Hearts of the Children of Men:* And God appropriates it to himſelf, *The Heart is deceitful above all things, and deſperately wicked, who can know it? I the Lord ſearch the Heart, I try the Reins.* But likewiſe the Heathens themſelves attributed it to their Gods, as that which was the ground of worſhipping them, and of atteſting them in all their Oaths and ſolemn Compacts. Not only to know what is in Man, but to know what is in all Men, and at all Times, is the perfection of Infinite Knowledg: which it is therefore impoſſible for Saints or Angels to have, becauſe it is a contradiction, for a Creature to have ſo much as one ſingle infinite perfection.

Synod. Trident Seſſ. ult. Eos qui aſſerunt ſtultum eſſe in Cœlo regnantibus voce vel mente ſupplicare, impiè ſentire.

2 Chron. 6. 30.

Jer. 17. 9, 10.

It would be a great preſumption in us, to go about to fix the Bounds and Limits of their enlarged Underſtandings, and to tell juſt how wiſe an Angel of God is. They may, for ought I know, have an intuitive Knowledg, without the trouble and hazard of reaſoning, and ſee the remoteſt Concluſions by as clear a light, as we do firſt Principles: They may, in many other reſpects, have their Underſtandings elevated and enlightned, beyond what we can imagine. Yet it is no preſumption to ſay, that they have not any ſuch knowledg in any kind, as may equal them with God: But on the other hand, it is Blaſphemy to aſcribe that to them, then which we cannot aſcribe any thing greater to him. And this knowledg of underſtanding and ſearching Men's Hearts, the Papiſts not only imply in their praying to Saints and Angels, and decree in their Councils, but they openly avow it likewiſe in their Writings, and will prove it by Scripture it ſelf. Cardinal *Perrone* for one, amongſt many others, proves that the Saints know Men's Hearts, becauſe they are equal to the Angels: and the Angels aſſuredly

aſſuredly know them, becauſe they rejoice at the Converſion of a Sinner; which is the inward change of a Man's Mind, and lies very deep, even at the bottom of the Heart. But far leſs charity than the Angels burn withal, and a much ſmaller degree of Knowledg than they really are endued with, will ſolve this *Phænomenon*. For cannot ſuch ſilly Wretches as we, be glad of the converſion of a Sinner, who was given for loſt, though we never ſaw him in our Lives; if we be aſſured of it by a very good Friend, who likewiſe was himſelf the happy Author of this Converſion, and invites us to congratulate the good ſucceſs of his care and pains in it? And that this is the very caſe of the Angels Joy, I will venture to refer it to any Man that will but once read over the firſt ten Verſes of the 15*th* Chapter of St. *Luke*. They likewiſe argue from *Eliſha*'s Heart going with *Gehazi*, and from his diſcovering the King of *Syria*'s Counſels. But, 1. theſe were Actions and Words, which are nothing near ſo private as Thoughts. And then, 2. there is no conſequence, from the extraordinary performances

of Saints and Prophets, enabled and inspired by God, to infer an ordinary and constant power and faculty of doing such things, at all times. Have the Saints and Angels *Præscience*, because Prophets have been some times enabled to foretel Things to come? Have they the power of raising the Dead, and of doing such Miracles, as are plainly the Finger of God, because God has been pleased, at some times, to make Men his Instruments in the performance of these mighty Works? One would be ashamed of such Reasonings, and yet they have still worse. For some of them take it ill, that in denying Invocation of Saints and Angels, we will not allow them so much knowledg as the Devil has. Well, for ought I know, they may hereafter have a new set of Gods, and from worshipping those, which as the *Homily* says, they transform into Devils, by setting them up as the Rivals of God, they may fall to courting those which have made themselves so; who it seems have one qualification towards Invocation. For who knows where Apostacy from God will end?

Tripple Cord, p. 345. dedicated to the Nobility of Engand.

Secondly;

Secondly; The Matter of their Prayers to Saints and Angels makes them Gods, by giving them ſtill more Divine Attributes.

1. They attribute to Saints and Angels the diſpoſal of Grace, pardon of Sins, deliverance from Hell, and eternal Life; which are as peculiarly the Gifts of God, as the Creation of the World was his Work: As you may ſee by theſe following Prayers.

'*Angelorum concio Sacra, Et Archangelorum turma inclyta, Noſtra diluant jam peccata, Præſtando ſupera Cœli gaudia.*' Miſſale Sar in Feſto omnium Sanctorum.

Here they pray the Angels to blot out their Sins, and beſtow upon them the Joys of Heaven.

'*O Virgo ſola Mater caſta noſtra crimina*
'*Solvens, da Regna, qui beata regnant agmina.*' In Nativitat. B. M.

Here they pray the Virgin to pardon their Sins, and to give them the Kingdom of Heaven.

Litania Sancti Bonaventur. Tom. 6. p. 492.

'*Ab Inferni horribili cruciamine,*
'*Libera nos Domina.*
'From the horrible Torment of Hell
'Good Lady deliver us.

Ibid.

'*Ut cunctis fidelibus defunctis re-*
'*quiem æternam donare digneris,*
'*Te rogamus audi nos.*
'That it may pleaſe thee to give
'everlaſting Reſt to all the Faith-
'ful departed this Life, We be-
'ſeech thee to hear us.

And in the Verſicles, and Reſponſes, towards the end of that Litany, you have theſe words.

V. '*Ego dixi Domina miſerere mei,*
R. '*Sana animam quia peccavi ti-*
'*bi*, &c.
'I have ſaid, Lady, have mercy
'upon me,
'Heal my Soul, for I have ſinned
'againſt thee.
'Shew thy Mercy upon us,
'And be gracious unto thy Ser-
'vants.

And

And presently after, you have this devout Ejaculation.

'*Miserere servorum tuorum super quos*
'*invocatum est nomen tuum.*
'Be merciful to thy Servants, who
'are called by thy Name.

And so let them be, and never hereafter pretend to be Christians! for that she is their great Goddess, appears,

2. By that blasphemous Honour which they have done her, in decking and magnifying her with the very same glorious Praises and Acknowledgments, wherewith *David* was inspired to honour God; which our Blessed Saviour himself, when he was upon Earth, and all the Church of God have sung to him ever since. Such as these which follow, and the rest is alike, for it is all quintessence.

Psal. 10. 'In thee Lady do I put my
'trust.
18. 'The Heavens declare thy
'Glory.

Psal.

Pſal. 30. 'Into thy hands I commend
'my Spirit, my whole Life,
'and my laſt Day.

53. 'I will freely offer unto thee
'the Sacrifice of Praiſe, and
'give thanks unto thy Name,
'for it is good.

67. 'Let *Mary* ariſe, and let her
'Enemies be ſcattered.

111. 'Bleſſed is the Man that fear-
'eth our Lady, and bleſſed
'is the Heart that loveth
'her.

118. 'Lady, how have I loved
9th Part. 'thy Law! it is ever before
'mine Eyes.

148. 'Praiſe our Lady from Hea-
'ven, glorify her in the
'Heights. Praiſe her Sun and
'Moon, *&c.*

And then this Pſalter concludes, juſt as *David*'s does.

150. 'Let every thing that hath
'breath, praiſe our Lady.

Who can endure to ſee Scripture thus tranſpros'd and abuſed, and a Creature cloathed with all the Majeſty of

of Heaven, and adorned at this rate with the ſpoils of her Maker? And beſides *David's* Pſalms, there is hardly an Hymn in the whole Bible, that is not in the ſame manner applied to her.

'*The Chariots of* Pharaoh *and his* '*Hoſt, ſhe hath caſt into the Sea.* Canticum inſtar illius, *Exod.* 15. p. 479.

How came ſhe to caſt them into the Sea, ye blaſphemous Wretches, a thouſand Years before ſhe was born?

They have likewiſe a *Te Deum* for her, which concludes thus;

'*Praiſe becometh thee, Dominion be-* '*cometh thee; To thee be Power and* '*Glory for ever and ever.* Amen.

And an *Athanaſian* Creed, which concludes thus, ſpeaking of our Saviour;

'*He ſent the Holy Ghoſt upon his* '*Diſciples, and upon his Mother; whom* '*he afterwards took up into Heaven, and* '*ſhe ſits at the right Hand of her Son,* '*not ceaſing to prevail with her Son* '*for us.* Exorare.

'*This is the Faith concerning the Vir-* '*gin Mary; which unleſs every Man do* '*believe faithfully and firmly, he can-* '*not be ſaved.*

Now,

Now, whence had we this blasphemous Liturgy? Did not Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth himself take care to print it in the *Vatican*, amongst *Bonaventure's* Works? And did not he make this *Bonaventure* a Doctor of the Church, and a Father, for these Works? And did not *Sixtus* the Fourth long before canonize him, and make him one of their Gods, for his Sanctity and Doctrine, which was testified by Miracles: such as raising the dead, *&c.* at the instance and intreaty of *Frederick* the Emperor, the Kings of *France*, *Sicily*, *Hungary*; the Dukes of *Venice*, *Savoy*, *Milain*, *&c?* Did not the same Pope *Sixtus* hire and encourage People, with Indulgences, to worship this new God at his first setting up, that so he might be sure to have the more divine Honour done to him? And did not this Divine *Bonaventure* make this Book, when he was upon Earth, with the Virgin *Mary's* help? And did not he make it for this end, That those that often praised her by this Book, she might mercifully look upon, with her amiable Countenance, and receive into her Love, and recreate and refresh their Souls at present, and in the Glory that shall be here-

See Bonaventure's *Life before his Works.*

Ibid.

See Bonavent. *Pref. to this Psalt. and Liturg.* gratiâ & adjutorio illius conditum & compactum

hereafter, ſet a Crown of precious Stones upon their Heads? And if all theſe Saints, and Popes, and Miracles, cannot make this to be good Catholick Doctrine, it is very hard.

However, to wave this Liturgy, there is as much attributed to the Virgin *Mary*, in the publick Offices of their pretended Church: which no Papiſt can have any manner of colour of pretence to diſown, becauſe he himſelf joins in them. For inſtance, they attribute Omnipotency to her. *Bonaventure* indeed ſays roundly, *Domina noſtra Omnipotens, poſt Deum nomen ejus.* And is not *cuncta potens* as good as *Omnipotens?* and this the *Miſſal* freely beſtows upon her, and gives it as a reaſon why ſhe ſhould forgive Sins, and beſtow the Kingdom of Heaven.

Canticum inſtar illius, *Exod.* 15.

'*Potens enim cuncta, ut Mundi Re-*
'*gina, & jura*
'*Cum nato omnia decernis in ſecla*
'*& ultra,*
'*Subnixa es in glorià Cherubim electa,*
'*Seraphinq; clara agmina.*
'*Nam juxta Filium poſita, ſedes in*
'*dextera*
'*Virtus, lampas, & Sophia.*

In Nativitate B. M.

'For

'For thou art Mighty, as Queen of 'the World, and with thy Son 'judgeſt all things for ever and 'ever; thou upheldeſt in glory 'the Cherubim and Seraphim, *&c.*

Nay if ſhe can do all things, they have reaſon, ſhe is to be worſhipped; *O Dea certè.*

But how comes ſhe to be thus all-powerful, and Queen of the World? It is not by the Right of a Mother, which elſe-where ſhe is deſired to uſe in commanding her Son, for then the Lady *Ann*, our Ladies Mother, would come in for a ſhare. Who, alas, muſt be content with her Daughter's Honour, for ſhe her ſelf is made but a poor Meſſenger; as you may ſee by theſe words to her:

Corona B. V. *p.* 466. jure matris impera tuo dilectiſſimo Filio.

In Feſto Annæ Matris B. M.

'*Tua proles eſt Regina, in Cœleſti pa-* '*tria.*
'*Ipſa cunctis jam prælata, per te ſu-* '*mens hæc precata,*
'*Noſtra fiat Advocata, in Dei præ-* '*ſentiâ.*

'Thy Daughter is Queen in the 'Heavenly Country.
'Let her who takes place of all, 're-

'receiving these Prayers from 'thee, become our Advocate in 'the presence of God.

What handing of Prayers is here, just as they help Bricks out of a Cart! From whence, by the way, we may observe that Cardinal *Peronne* stopt short, when he said, Invocation was only *prier pour prier*; it is *prier pour prier pour prier* at the least: For an ordinary Saint, no nor Angel neither, will not serve to present their Prayers, but must go to the Virgin *Mary* and pray her over again.

For thus likewise they speak to the Angel *Gabriel.*

'*Nunc igitur preco accelera, Piæ Ma-* In Festo Sancti
'*tris precare viscera,* *Gabrielis.*
'*Nato monstret pectus & ubera; Tu*
'*ab hoste nos tecum libera.*
'Now therefore Herald make haste,
'intreat the Bowels of the Gra-
'cious Mother;
'Let her shew her Son her Bosom
'and Breasts; deliver thy self and
'us from the Enemy.

It

It is well *Poſt-haſte* is written upon this laſt Packet of Prayers, for otherwiſe that miſchance might happen to them, which did to the Maſter of Requeſts Petitions, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time: who told the Queen, when ſhe complained that his new Boots ſtunk; that it was not his new Boots, but the old ſtale Bills which he had kept too long in his Pocket.

To return from this Digreſſion, The Virgin *Mary* takes her place as Queen of the World, and Empreſs of Heaven, by another right; for they have blaſphemouſly made her the Bride, or the Wife of God the Father. So *Bonaventure* in his *Te Deum.*

Hymnus inſtar illius qui aſcribitur. *Ambroſ.* & *Auguſt.*

'*Te Matrem Dei laudamus, Te Ma-*
'*riam Virginem profitemur,*
'*Te æterni Patris ſponſam omnis ter-*
'*ra veneratur.*
'All the Earth doth worſhip thee,
'the Wife of the Father Ever-
'laſting.

But becauſe I ſaid I would wave *Bonaventure*, though at the ſame time I proved his Authority to be ſacred, the very

very ſame is ſaid, or ſung, in their own Maſs-Book.

'*Tu es pulchra Dei ſponſa, Tu Regem* In die aſſump. B. M.
'*Chriſtum enixa,*
'*Domina es in Cœlo & Terra.*
'Thou art God's fair Bride, Thou
'broughteſt forth the King Chriſt,
'And art Lady in Heaven and
'Earth.

And again you have an account how he came by her.

'*Imperatrix, cujus Imperio tota gau-* In Feſto Sancti
'*det Cœleſtis concio,* *Gabrielis.*
'*Te creavit Deus mirabilem, te re-*
'*ſpexit ancillam humilem,*
'*Te quæſivit ſponſam amabilem, tibi*
'*nunquam fecit conſimilem.*
'Thou Empreſs, under whoſe Go-
'verment the whole Aſſembly of
'Heaven rejoyces to be. God
'created thee wonderful, he re-
'garded thee his lowly Hand-
'maid; He ſought thee out his
'amiable Spouſe, the like of thee
'he never made.

And this Title is so familiarly given to the Virgin *Mary*, that it seems to be annexed to her Imperial Stile; for I will be bound, at very short warning, to produce an hundred places out of their publick and private Devotions, where she is called by that Name. We are extreamly beholden to the Papists, and ought to take this occasion to thank them, for answering an Objection of *Mahomet* against our Saviour's Divinity. For he being a crafty Impostor, found a necessity of lessening our Saviour, and making him barely a Prophet: by which means he himself would clearly have the advantage, in being the last Prophet. And therefore he not only tells a ridiculous Story, how Jesus the Son of *Mary*, being questioned for it by God, utterly denied that ever he called himself the Son of God, and laid all the fault upon his Followers, because they had done it of their own Heads; but likewise he repeats and inculcates it all over his *Alcoran*, that there is but one God only, and no more. And in one place, I remember, he gives this reason for it: There is but one God and no more, and he has no Son, for he never

never had a Wife. But now there's an end of that Turkish Argument. And now likewise the Secret is out. For I confess it has often amazed me, to see the extravagant Blasphemies, which are used in their Prayers to the Virgin *Mary:* as when they call her *the Fountain of Mercy*, (which is the brightest and loveliest apprehension of God, that can possess the minds of Creatures); when they call her, *Empress of Heaven, who upheld the Cherubim and Seraphim from falling*, (there I thought them mad) *whom all the Angels worship*, (that methought was but reasonable, supposing the former) *whom the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the whole Creation, are called upon to praise and magnify*, (as if she had been the Maker of them all) *and who threw* Pharaoh *and his Host into the Red Sea*, (there, thought I, they make old Time go back a thousand Years for this piece of Flattery). Whereas this unthought of Relation entitles her to every thing that is, was, or can be in the Universal World. Methinks such rank Blasphemy as this should poison the Air, into which it is breathed forth, and blast the whole

Sung in the Council of Constance. Apud Chemnitium, Exam. Con. Trid. *p.* 610. Gen. 1634 & in sequentia usque. in Visitat. B.M

Creation round about! I am ſure it will make the Ears of all Chriſtians to tingle, and raiſe their Blood againſt ſuch an horrid Religion.

And thus I have proved the *Papiſts*, out of their own blaſphemous mouths, to be *Polytheiſts*, in ſetting up Saints and Angels for Gods, and in giving divine Honour to them. I have employed no other Argument, at preſent, to prove this, than only their Prayers to them; whereas I might have uſed very many others, as he that will read the *Homily* againſt Peril of Idolatry, may eaſily ſee. Againſt certain Truth, I know there cannot poſſibly be any material Objection: but I would anſwer all trifling ones, if I could foreſee them. It may be the *Papiſts* will ſay, They do not make the Angels and Saints Gods, becauſe they make them, in many reſpects, inferior to God. Were the Heathen Gods no Gods, becauſe *Jupiter* was King of them? Was *Vulcan* no God, becauſe he was only armed with an Hammer, and not with the Soveraign Thunderbolt? What difference the Heathens made betwixt *Jupiter* and the other Gods, you may in part ſee, by this fol-

following Passage, taken out of *Maximin's* Edict upon a Pillar in *Tyrus*. The highest and greatest *Jupiter*, who presides over your famous City, and delivers the Gods of your Country, your Wives, and Children, and Houses, from all destructive Calamity, *&c.* These poor helpless Gods, were so far from being Omnipotent, that they needed the protection of *Jupiter*, as much as the meanest of their Votaries.

Eusebius Eccl. Hist. l. 8. c. 6. πατρῴους ὑμῶν θεοὺς.

Or it may be they will say, They reserve peculiar Worship and Services to God, which they do not communicate to Saints: For they tell us, 'They 'celebrate the Mass indeed, in memo-'ry and honour of the Saints; but the 'Priest never uses to say, I offer Sa-'crifice to thee *Peter*, or *Paul*; name-'ly this Sacrifice of the Mass. For that they offer all other Sacrifices, if it please God to give me Life and Health, I shall hereafter fully prove: and then they shall hear more of this deceitful Juggle too, and of the Tricks they have played with St. *Austin's* words.

Rom. Catechis. p. 204.

We grant they do not offer the Sacrifice of the Maſs to the Saints, but to the Trinity: So that they offer the Son of God to himſelf; and according to the uſual *decorum*, which they conſtantly obſerve in that awkerd Religion, which is made to ſpite the Reaſon of Mankind; As our Saviour once heretofore ſat at the Table diſcourſing, and lay ſowring in twelve ſeveral Mens Stomachs at the ſame time, ſo now he is every day, in Perſon, both the Sacrifice it ſelf upon Earth, and the God in Heaven to whom it is offered. None, but ſuch a Fool as I am, would ſtand arguing and diſputing with theſe Men; whom all the Reaſon upon Earth can never diſtreſs, by reducing them to Impoſſibilities or Abſurdities, when they own and profeſs theſe Abſurdities and Contradictions of their own accord: it would certainly be more wiſdom, to go and preach, as Venerable *Bede* once did, to a heap of Stones. But to proceed nevertheleſs, Are not we to take it for a great favour, that they do not offer the Great God of Heaven in Sacrifice to *Thomas* of *Becket*? The Gentiles

Gentiles Idolaters were so far from offering *Jupiter* in Sacrifice to any petty God, that I never yet read, that they offered him in Sacrifice to himself. There is no consequence at all in this reasoning; The Papists do not offer the Sacrifice of the Mass to Saints and Angels, but only to the Trinity, therefore they do not make Saints and Angels Gods. For had not the Heathens proper Sacrifices for *Jupiter*, which were sacred only to him? and yet this did not destroy the Divinity of the other Deities. It makes no more difference amongst the Gods, nor affects their God-head any more, to have this or that particular Sacrifice, offered or not offered to them, than it did for *Æsculapius* to have a great Beard, and his Father *Apollo* to have none at all.

Lastly; The Papists may possibly say, That there is great difference betwixt the Gods of the Pagans, and the Saints which they honour and worship: the former having been lewd Men, and sometimes feigned Persons; the latter being such as we Hereticks pay some respect to, though

not enough. I ſhall not now enter into the Merits of that Cauſe, but refer them to a great Prelat of our Church, who has told them, That they Worſhip Saints in Heaven, and Saints in Hell, and Saints that are in neither Place, nor ever were in being. Though, by the way, I cannot find any ſuch great difference betwixt *Romulus* and *Ignatius Loyola*; the one having been, in his Time, the Governor of a Den of Thieves, and the other the Captain General of the Modern Banditi: and it is all one to me, whether they worſhip the Nine Muſes, or the Seven Sleepers, for ſtill the Polytheiſm remains the ſame; they have indeed changed their Gods, but not their Religion.

Vid. Feſtum 7. dormientium.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Their Idolatry.

According to my former Method, I shall, 1. shew, that the Church of *England* has all along charged the Papists with Idolatry. And, 2. I shall make good that Charge upon them, out of their own Mouths.

1. The Church of *England* has all along charged the Papists with Idolatry. The *Homilies*, I am sure, charge them with it above an hundred times over, out of which I shall make choice of some few Instances. Speaking of the Ages of Popery;

It is evident, that Images, Superstition, and worshipping of Images and Idolatry, have continued many hundred Years. And in the same Paragraph, we have a fuller description of the State of all Christendom before the Reformation. **So that Laity and Clergy, Learned and Unlearned, all Ages, Sects, and degrees** *3d part Sermon per Idol.* p. 56. Pag. 57.

grees of Men, Women, and Children, of whole Christendom, (an horrible and most dreadful thing to think) have been at once drowned in abominable Idolatry, of all other Vices most detested of God, and most damnable to Man, and that by the space of eight hundred Years and more.

And in another place, after a description of their Men Saints, which look'd like Princes of Persia Land; and the Idols of their Women Saints, which might have been taken for nice and well-trimmed Harlots, you have these words; And because the whole Pageant must be throughly plaid, it is not enough thus to deck Idols, but at the last come in the Priests themselves, likewise decked with Gold and Pearl, that they may be meet Servants for such Lords and Ladies, and fit worshippers of such Gods and Goddesses. And with a solemn pace they pass forth before these Golden Puppets, and fall down to the Ground on their Marrow Bones before these honourable Idols, &c. And elsewhere you have a large Discourse, shewing, That their Rites and Ceremonies, in honouring and wor-

Ibid. *p.* 72.

2*d part.* P. 37. *Our mighty Gods of Gold and Silver, Stock & Stone.*

Pag. 49.

worshipping of the Images, or Saints, be all one with the Rites which the Gentiles Idolaters used in honouring their Idols. In Pilgrimages to visit Images, which had more Holiness and Vertue in them than others: In their Candle-Religion, burning Incense, offering up Gold to Images, hanging up Crouches, Chains, and Ships, Legs, Arms, and whole Men and Women of Wax, before Images, as though by them, or Saints, (as they say) they were delivered from Lameness, Sickness, Captivity, or Shipwrack. In spreading abroad, after the Example of the Gentiles Idolaters, lying and feigned Miracles of Images. Such an Image was sent from Heaven, like the Palladium or Diana of the Ephesians: Such an Image was brought by Angels. Such an one came it self far from the East to the West, as Dame Fortune fled to Rome. Some Images, though they were hard and stony, yet for tender-heart and pitty, wept. Some spake more monstrously than ever did Balaam's Ass, who had Life and Breath in him. Such a Triple came and saluted this Saint

Pag. 51.

Pag. 52.

of

of Oke, and by and by he was made whole, and loe, here hangeth his Crouch. Such an one in a Tempest vowed to Saint Christopher, and scaped, and behold here is his Ship of War. Such an one, by Saint Leonard's help, brake out of Prison, and see where his Fetters hang. And infinite thousands more Miracles, by like or more shameless Lies were reported. And to conclude, The Papists serve themselves of those very

Ibid. *p.* 50. excuses which the Devil heretofore put into the Mouths of the Gentiles, to palliate their Idolatry. So that by making use of the same Pretences and Answers, it is plain, that they be all one with the Gentiles Idolaters.

These things hitherto are spoken in reference to the worshipping of Images; and then as to their worshipping the Host, the Rubrick, after the Communion, declares, that it is

Declaration after the Communion. Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians. Which has been always the Doctrine of our Church, notwithstanding the ignorant Cavils of some Men, as appears by the *Homilies*, where this Doctrine was never discontinued. The Papists ignorance of the Sacrament is affirmed

affirmed to have been the cause of the ruin of God's Religion, the cause of gross Idolatry, and of mummish Massing. *1st part. Serm. concerning the Sacrament. p. 199.*

Their worshipping and falling down before every cross piece of Timber, which is but an Image of our Saviour's Cross, must needs be rank Idolatry; when in St. Ambrose judgment to have worshipped the Cross it self, which was embewed with our Saviour Christ's own precious Blood, had been an heathenish Error and Vanity of the Wicked. *Second part Peril of Idolatry, p. 25.* *In his Treatise of the Death of Theodosius the Emperor.*

In a word; Idolatry is so interwoven with their Religion, that the *Homily* very justly brands them with the Name of the Idolatrous Church. *3d part. Peril of Idol. p 69.*

So much for the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, which I hope will not seem strange or new to the meanest Reader; for I am sure all the People of *England* ought to have bin instructed and perfect in it, any time this hundred Years and better. *Article Ch. of England. 35.*

2. And now I shall undertake to prove the Papists to be as blockish Idolaters as ever were in the World, by irrefragable and uncontroulable Authorities,

thorities, such as they must either own, or renounce their Popery; and they are, their own Mass-book, the Roman Catechism set out by the Decree of the Council of *Trent*, and the Roman Pontifical.

And, 1. I shall set down all the sorts of Idolatry, which are enumerated by the Roman Catechism.

And then, 2. prove them to be guilty of those very things, which they themselves acknowledge to be both Idolatry, and old Heathen Idolatry.

In their Explication of the Second Commandment, they have these words. 'It is manifest, that two ways 'especially, as to this Precept, the 'Majesty of God is very much injured. The first is, If Idols and Images are worshipped as God; or if any 'Divinity or Vertue be believed to be 'in them, for the sake of which they 'are to be worshipped, or that any 'thing is to be desired of them, or 'that any trust is to be put in them, as 'was done heretofore by the Gentiles, 'who placed their hope in Idols, 'which the Scripture every where reproves. The other is, If any one 'endea-

Rom. Catechis. p. 299.

'endeavour to repreſent the form of 'the Divinity in any kind of Work, 'as if it could be ſeen with bodily 'Eyes, or expreſſed by Colours or Fi-'gures.

To begin with the firſt Inſtance of Idolatry, to worſhip Idols or Images as God: by which if they mean worſhipping an Image, with a perſuaſion that it is God; truly that is a very low diſpenſation, which very few, if any, of the Heathens were under. And ſuch an imputation as this, they always look'd upon as an horrid ſlander upon their Religion. If any Papiſt had charged the Heathens with it in *Julian*'s Time, he would have returned him this anſwer. 'O thou Block-head, 'How can we chuſe but account them 'Stocks and Stones, which the hands 'of Men have faſhioned? Doſt thou 'think that the accurſed Devils lead 'all other Men by the Noſe, as they 'do thee, ſo as to eſteem them to be 'Gods, which are their own Work-'manſhip? Or if they mean by thoſe words, the worſhipping of Images, with the ſame honour and devotion as God himſelf, even this the Heathens renounced. *Julian* gives this account of

ὦ κεφαλὴ ξύλων καὶ λίθων αὐτῶν ἀφεστέον. Julian. *Fragment.* P. 539.

of the reſpect which they paid to Images, whereby you may perceive a wide difference betwixt that, and the honour which they gave to their Gods. Says he, 'Whoſoever is a lover of his 'King, or Child, or Father, is de- 'lighted with their ſeveral Pictures, 'and pleaſed in looking upon them: 'by the ſame reaſon, he that is a lover 'of God, is pleaſed and delighted in 'looking upon the Images of the 'Gods, at the ſame time worſhipping 'and dreading the Gods, who ſee him, 'but are not ſeen. Now who but a Sot, has the ſame reverence and pangs of Love for theſe dead Pictures, as he has for the Perſon of his Prince, or for his Relations themſelves?

Julian. Ibid.

Let that be as it will, I am ſure the modern Pagans will never be able to acquit themſelves of ten times more ſtupid Idolatry, when they worſhip a contemptible Wafer, which is hardly fit to ſeal a Letter, with a full perſuaſion, that it is not only a perfect and compleat Man, but likewiſe the great God of Heaven. An Heathen Idol look'd like ſome Body; and being placed, as St. *Auſtin* ſays, *in an honourable ſublimity, having the very likeneſs*

Concil. Trid. Seſſ. 13. *Rom. Cat.* p. 185. Totus Chriſtus continetur in Sacramento, Chriſtus autem eſt nomen Dei & Hominis.

Epiſt. 49. ad Deo Gratias Præf. Quæſt. 3.

of

of Limbs and Organs of Senſe, though it really were without Life and Senſe, yet it might *affect weak minds*, and ſeem to them to live and breath: But never was there ſuch a blunder before in the World, as to miſtake a deſpicable patch of Bread, yea, though it have a Crucifix printed upon it to help the Imagination, for the Living God who made Heaven and Earth. No Man can forbear ſcorning, and ſpeaking contemptuouſly of this deſpicable and deteſtable Idol. For though a ſmall piece of Bread has an honourable place in the Creation, and a much more honourable place in the Sacrament, where we remember our Saviour by it; yet, when it comes to be made a God, it is vilely degraded, and becomes an Object of nothing but Scorn and Deriſion, of Hatred and Deteſtation. As St. *Gregory's* words are, ſpeaking of the Reign of *Jovian*, when Paganiſm expired; 'The Creature, 'ſays he, is no longer vilified with 'pretended honour, in being wor'ſhipped inſtead of God. And ſo the Wiſdom of *Solomon* counts the Gibbet a more honourable piece of Wood,

Greg. Naz. Inv. 2 p. 127. οὐκ ἔτι δὲ καθυβρίζεται κτίσις ἐν ῥήματι τιμῆς ἀντὶ θεοῦ προσκυνωμένη.

Cap. 14. 7.

Wood, and pronounces it a happy Tree, in respect of that cursed One, which is debased and framed into an Idol.

2*dly*, That this sorry Wafer, this contemptible Idol, is likewise to be worshipped with the same adoration, which is due to the true God, is the express determination of the Council of *Trent*, with a Curse to all them that shall say the contrary. And accordingly they make those Addresses to the Host, which are enough to astonish a Man, and fill him with the greatest horror and amazement. In the middle of the Prayer, *Deus Pater fons & origo totius bonitatis*, &c. is this Rubrick; 'Here let the Priest 'bow himself to the Host, saying, I 'adore thee, I glorify thee, I praise 'thee with all the power of my Mind 'and Heart, and pray thee not to for-'sake thy Servants, but forgive us our 'Sins. If this were not directed to the Host, the Rubrick should have come in before these words, *Quam ego indignus hic in manibus meis teneo.*

Concil. Trid. Sess 13.

Canon of the Mass in Miss. Sar. p. 162. b.

And

And Biſhop *Coverdale*, who tranſlated the Canon of the Maſs, affirms, That the Prieſt here ſpeaks in this manner to the Hoſt, and asks why not? if it be his Maker: according to the uſual ſaying of Papiſts, who have been at Maſs, *I thank God, I have ſeen my Maker to day.* And for certain, that Noble Confeſſor underſtood the ſenſe of the Papiſts, and their Worſhip, but too well, to his coſt. *Fox.* Mon. Vol 3. p. 5.

To conclude this whole Matter with that, which would have ſtartled and amazed the old Pagans themſelves; after they have thus hailed their God, and bowed the Knee before him, and worſhipped him with all their Heart, and Soul, and Strength, they very fairly eat him up. *See more of this, in the excellent and learned Diſcourſe of Dr.* Whitby, *The Abſurdity and Idolatry of Hoſt-Worſhip.*

2. The next inſtance of Idolatry is this; If any Divinity or Virtue be believed to be in Idols or Images, for the ſake of which they are to be worſhipped. By Divinity, here muſt be meant, a divine Power and Efficacy to ſupernatural Effects; for otherwiſe it will be the very ſame with the

former Instance. And that the Papists are likewise guilty of Idolatry in this particular, I shall make as clear as any Demonstration in *Euclide*, with the help only of this one reasonable *postulatum*, That there is all that Divinity and Virtue in a thing, which is put into it. Now let any one read the Consecration of a New Cross, or a Picture of the Crucifix, and he will be satisfied, that there is Divinity and Virtue enough put in them to justify the worshiping of them. 'We beseech 'thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty 'Everlasting God, that it may please 'thee to bless this Sign of the Cross, 'that it may be a Saving Remedy to 'Mankind. Let it be solidity of 'Faith, proficiency of good Works, 'Redemption of Souls. Let it be a 'Comfort, and Protection, and safe-'guard against the cruel Darts of the 'Enemies, through Jesus Christ our 'Lord, *&c.* And after the Bishop has said this, and another such Prayer, and used several powerful Ceremonies, and endued the Wood with so many Divine Virtues, he may well do, as the Rubrick directs at the end of the Office.

Pontificale Rom. *p.* 360.

Rog nus te Domine, *&c.*

fice. 'Then the Biſhop kneeling be- Tum Pontifex, &c.
'fore the Croſs does devoutly adore it,
'and kiſs it; the ſame do all others
'that have a mind.

There is no Man living can make an eſtimate of that infinite Divine Virtue, which is in the Paſchal Taper, that very tall Idol, being thirty ſix foot long. For in the Conſecration of the New Fire (very well worth the reading) which is to light this Paſchal Taper; They pray, *that whoſoever ſhall carry away Light from it, may be illuminated with the Light of Spiritual Grace.* Now this Light, well huſbanded, may convey Grace to all the World. But I ſhall never be reconciled to that ſcurvy Rubrick, which directs to ſprinkle this New Fire with Holy Water; with which, if it were never ſo little too laviſhly bleſt, the World is in danger of being left graceleſs, and in the dark. Miſſ. l. Sar: p. 90. a. b.

And yet, for ought I know, there is a little Idol in a String, which may have as much Divinity and Virtue in it as any of them; and that is a Pectoral Croſs, over which they ſay this Prayer.

Pontific. Rom. p. 364, & 384.

'Almighty God, we humbly be-
'ſeech thee, that it may pleaſe thee to
'bleſs this Croſs with thy fatherly
'Goodneſs, and impart Heavenly Ver-
'tue and Grace to it; That whoſo-
'ever ſhall wear it as a ſign of the Paſ-
'ſion and Croſs of thy only begotten
'Son, for the ſafeguard of his Body
'and Soul, may receive the Fulneſs of
'thy Heavenly Grace in it, and the
'defence of thy Bleſſing. As for the other little Wax-work Idol, called an *Agnus Dei*, he is ſo well known to be accounted by them, the Saviour of the World, and the Prince of the Air, and every thing that is great, that I need ſay nothing of him.

If any Unbeliever, after all, does ſecretly imagine that theſe Charms which we have repeated, do not work; and that theſe Croſſes and Trade are not really endued with all this Divine Virtue, which is here beſpoken for them: To cure him of his Infidelity, let him only read the form of delivering a Banner, after it is conſecrated;

Pontific. Rom. p. 388.

'*Accipe Vexillum Cœleſti Benedictione*
'*Sanctificatum.* Take this Banner
'which is ſanctified with Heavenly Be-
'nediction.

'nediction. You ſee the Biſhop has bleſt it, and it is bleſſed.

3*dly*, I come now to the next inſtance of Idolatry, which is, *deſiring any thing of Idols or Images:* Where I would fain know, whether the Papiſts do not ask as much of the Croſs, as ever was begg'd of piece of Timber in all former Ages? In theſe following words;

'*Medicina Chriſtiana ſalva ſanos, ægros ſana*; Miſſal. Exaltatio Sanctæ Crucis 14. Sep.
'*Quod non valet vis Humana, fit in tuo Nomine.*
'Thou Chriſtians all-heal, ſave thoſe 'that are in Health, and cure the 'Sick;
'What humane Power cannot do, 'is done in thy Name.

Nay, they deſire as much of an Aerial Idol, as they can of God himſelf.

'*Hoc reatum peccatorum Tollat, præ-ſtet jubilorum* Miſſal. In Feſto nominis Jeſu

'*Odas, sede Beatorum Donet nobis*
'*perfrui.*

Here they beg, neither more nor less, than that the Name of Jesus, (not the Person) may release them of their Sins, and give them the Joys of Heaven.

4*thly*, And as for the last Instance, which is, *putting their Trust, and placeing their Hope in Images or Idols*; If the Papists have no hope in these Idols which I have named, it is a sign they have no Faith in them, and are as very Infidels as we. So much for the first branch of *Idolatry*.

Catech. Rom. p. 289.

Secondly; The other is, *If any one endeavour to represent the form of the Divinity in any kind of Workmanship, as if it could be seen with bodily Eyes, or expressed by Colours or Figures.*

This, as the Roman Catechism adds, was the Idolatry of the Heathens:

Rom. 1 23.

who, as St. *Paul* excellently says, *changed the Glory of the incorruptible God, into the similitude of Birds and fourfooted Beasts, and creeping things.* These Men

Men want nothing but to have all the Bibles in the World in one heap, which I am certain they would burn with as good a Will, as our People do once a Year their Paſt-board Pope: For then they might go to work, and make a new Bible; and then St. *Paul* might ſay *excellently* what they had a mind to have him. In the mean time they have found out this uſeful expedient, to ſtifle and ſuppreſs any part of Scripture, which makes againſt them: and that they have ſhamefully done in this place. They afterwards allow the *Iſraelites* to be Idolaters, for *changing their Glory into the ſimilitude of a Calf that eateth Hay*; and the Heathens in this place, for *changing the Glory of God into the ſimilitude of Birds, and Beaſts, and creeping Things.* Now it is true, they do not trade in this ſort of Imagery, and therefore they are willing that it ſhould paſs for Idolatry. But St. *Paul*'s firſt inſtance of Idolatry, in this very Paſſage, which they have ſhamefully mangled, is *changing the Glory of the Incorruptible God, into the likeneſs of an Image of Corruptible Man:* The abſurdity where-

Pſal. 106. 20.

of

of St. *Paul* expreſſes by an elegant Antitheſis. But this falls heavy upon their own bald-pate Images, and their Monſter Head with three Faces, and the other with an Imperial Crown on his Head, giving his Beniſons with his two fore-fingers and Thumb, and that which ſits with a Crucifix reſting on his Knees, and a Dove upon it; and to name no more, that ſame, which the honeſt *Iconoclaſt* found buiſy in creating the World, in a blew Coat, bare-foot and bare-legged, and marking out the Sun and Moon with a pair of Compaſſes; and therefore they make no words at all of that part of the Text, which condemns theſe horrid Diſguiſes of the Deity. What, dare they not quote an entire Text of Scripture to their own Prieſts, for this Catechiſm is written for their Inſtruction: No, nor in truſty Latine neither, which hides ſo many of their Cheats from the Eyes of the common people?

Nay, then I do not wonder at it any longer, that there was once a Vulgar Language, ſpoken above four hundred Years in a Catholick Coun-

try,

try, which never was worthy to have the Second Commandment in it. That great Antiquary, Mr. *Lambert* in his Notes upon the Preface to King *Alured's* Laws, has long ſince told the World, that he never met with that Commandment in any Copy that is written in the Saxon Language. By theſe practices we may ſee, that the Papiſts know themſelves to be Idolaters, as well as we can tell them. But becauſe they wipe their Mouths, and deny it, and endeavour to ſhuffle it off by nice Diſtinctions, I ſhall not think much to examine them.

Firſt, They ſay, 'They do not break this Commandment in expreſſing the ſeveral Perſons of the Trinity by Signs, which have appeared either under the Old or New Teſtament. Of which they give the Ancient of days in *Daniel* as an Inſtance. *Rom. Catech.* P. 300.

Secondly, They ſay, 'That theſe are not Pictures of the Divinity; but only that ſome Properties or Actions, attributed to God, are declared by them.

In

In anſwer to the firſt of theſe Excuſes.

Firſt, Let them then fairly confeſs themſelves Idolaters, for making thoſe Pictures of God, of which they have neither Sign, nor ſhadow of a Sign in Scripture. For under which Teſtament did their Monſter-head with three Faces appear? than which, never did any Egyptian or Indian God make a worſe Figure. Or out of which Teſtament did they copy their other Pictures of the Trinity, that with a Crucifix on his Knees, or that, where they ſit all three a-breaſt; where our Saviour has Holes in his Hands and Feet, that you may know him from the Holy Ghoſt, for otherwiſe they are as like as the two *Soſias* in *Plautus*: Had they theſe out of *Daniel*? And one or other of theſe abominable Images of the Trinity, we had formerly in every Church, as the Compilers of the *Homilies* tell us; who, though they be not allowed as Doctors, may nevertheleſs ſerve for Teſtifiers.

3d part Peril Idol. p. 40.

2*dly*,

2*dly*, If a Scripture Sign be the only Authentick Original of a Chriſtian Image or Picture, then are theirs all Idols: for I never ſaw any of thoſe, which they pretend to copy from *Daniel*'s Dream, but varied extreamly from the Original. They add very much in ſome things, and in others they take away. They picture the Ancient of Days like an Old Man; there is no ſuch word as *Man* in *Daniel*: Dan. 7. 9. Then they give him all the Lineaments of a Face, and a Beard, purely out of their own Invention: And then, as for the Drapery, the Painter himſelf is the faſhioner, for there is nothing more of it mentioned in *Daniel*, than the Colour of the Garment. In a word, the Lines and proportion of the Body, the Face and Features, are altogether as the Painter pleaſes. If Men had not been ſtark mad of Idolatry, they would never have catch'd thus at the Shadow of a Dream, and gone to work furniſh'd with no better Inſtructions, than with the deſcription of Eternity, of the colour of a Head of Hair, the colour of a Gar-

Garment, and the poſture of ſitting.

The Jews might as well have taken hints from *Moſes*'s Metaphorical Expreſſions of the Hand, and Arm, and Finger of God, and much more from his own ſpeaking to them, to have pictured God in a humane Shape; from which they are ſo often and ſo ſtrictly forewarned.

Deut. 4. 12, 15, 25.

And then, as for all thoſe awful expreſſions of Majeſty, wherewith the Ancient of Days is attended in *Daniel*, which are fit to make all the World fear and tremble before him, they are all left out in their Pictures.

Dan. 7. 9, 10. *His Throne was a fiery Flame, and his Wheels burning Fire. A fiery Stream iſſued and came forth from before him: Thouſand thouſands miniſtred to him, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before him: The Judgment was ſet, and the Books were opened.* All this glorious repreſentation of the Ancient of Days, is dwindled into a ſolitary decrepid Old Man, who is no more like *Daniel*'s Deſcription, than a Mouſe is to a mighty Monarch.

3*dly*,

3*dly*, Theſe Sign-Painters ſhew the worſt Judgment that can be, in chuſing their Pattern out of *Daniel*. For every Body knows, that Prophetick Dreams and Viſions, and the Schemes of their Language, and their Deſcriptions, are more wide from the thing it ſelf, and more unlike, than the harſheſt Metaphors that ever were in the World. Flouriſhing Kingdoms are repreſented in that Book by Rams Horns, and Goats Horns: which would make very unintelligible Pictures of Kingdoms, and would certainly require a Label to tell what they are. And therefore for Men to fetch the Picture of God out of ſuch a Book, where beſides, above two thirds of their Picture is a perfect Blank, is to do juſt like Children, but not with their Innocency, who, rather than fail of a Baby to play withal, will make it of a Clout.

Secondly, Their other Excuſe is; 'That theſe are not Pictures of the 'Divinity; but only that ſome Pro- 'perties, *Rom. Catechiſm.* p. 300.

'perties, or Actions, attributed to 'God, are declared by them.

To this I Answer;

1*st*, That not only their common People, but all Papists call these the Images of God the Father; of which we have an instance in the Margin of this Catechism, (which is as great an Authority as I cite it for) where it is called *Dei Patris Imago.* And if no Body is so rude and ignorant, as to think the Divinity is expressed by those Images, (as the Catechism says) Why then is every Body so rude and ignorant, as to call them by that Name? For an Image of God the Father, must be an Image of the Divinity, or an Image of nothing: for I hope he never assumed Humanity.

Ibid.

2*dly*, Further, it is undeniably plain, that the Person of God the Father is declared by these Images, and not any Properties or Actions. For would not he blazon a Picture of the Trinity very improperly, and like an Heretick, who should say; There is the Holy Ghost, and that is God the Son, and the other is Eternity, or infinite Wisdom? So that if a Picture of

our

our Saviour ſtands for his Perſon, and the Dove, *&c.* for the Holy Ghoſt, ſo does this Old Man for the Perſon of God the Father.

3dly, To let the *Papiſts* have their own way, I affirm, That the very declaring of the Properties and Actions of the Deity by Images, was the Idolatry of the Heathens. For when they made an Image of *Jupiter*, they did not pretend that it was the very Figure of his Divinity, but declared ſome of his Properties and Actions. And to prove that theſe Images were inſtructive, as the Popiſh are pretended to be, I ſhall only give this Inſtance. The ſame *Jupiter* was pictured in *Crete* with no Ears, and by the *Lacedæmonians* with four Ears, whereas the ordinary Pictures of him had but two. Now it is a Contradiction, and therefore held to be an Impoſſibility, that one and the ſame Perſon ſhould have four Ears, and yet but two Ears, and no Ears at all. When they therefore made him with two Ears, they would have him look like a Man, and had no further meaning; but when they made him with four Ears, and

Plutarch de Iſide & Oſiride, *p.* 381. Et Lilius Gyraldus, *p.* 76.

no Ears, then they declared Properties. And the Moral, and Signification, of both these, seems to be much alike. For when the *Cretians* crop'd him, they declared, That being King of the World, it was not fit that any one should have his Ear, but that they should lie open to all alike. And they that gave him that large set of Ears, declared, That he heard all things, and from all parts and quarters of the World. So that when the *Papists* have done all, when they have excused, and apologized, and blanched their Images of God, and made the best of them, still they are no better than old Pagan Idols.

Id significantes dominatorem omnium audire debere neminem, sed æquè omnibus patulas offerre aures.

Eum undiq; & omnia audire innuentes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Their Cruelty.

WHat the Prophet ſays of *Ephraim*, has often come into my mind, with relation to the Papiſts, They are joyned to Idols: let them alone. They are infallible and incureable; and if they will not hear *Moſes* and the Prophets, poor private Men may do wiſely to ſave their Breath. So we would with all our Hearts; but they will not let *us alone*. Nothing will ſatisfy them, unleſs they force their Idolatry upon us, (as the French King ſells his Salt) whether we have any occaſion for it, or any mind to it or no. Hoſea 4 17.

Theſe Mighty *Nebuchadnezzars* ſet up Images, and all People, Nations, and Languages, muſt either fall down and worſhip them, or elſe be caſt into a fiery Furnace. This is the hard Chapter to which we are now come,

which is the very Sting of Popery: in which I shall first shew, That the Church of *England* has been all along sensible of the Popish Cruelty. And, secondly, shew, That the Papists herein have far exceeded the old Pagans.

First; As for the sense of our Church. The *Homilies* give us a large account of the Cruelty and Tyranny of many of the Popes of *Rome*, who had not the **Spirit of God, but of the Devil**; who not only were cruel to the Living, but persecuted dead Bodies: to whom they apply our Saviour's Prediction of **cruel and ravening Wolves in Sheeps cloathing.** Their Image-worship was maintained, at the very first, by the **Treason and Rebellion** of Pope *Gregory* the Third, **Which Example, other Bishops of Rome have continually followed, and gone through withal most stoutly.** And afterwards we have an account of the Tragical Cruelties, which were committed by the Empress *Irene*, in maintenance of Image-Worship: who was the great Patron

2d part. Serm. for Whitsund. p. 215, 216.

Second part Peril of Idolatry, p. 31.

Patrone and Valiant Captain of the Bishops of Rome, whose wicked and unnatural cruelty passed Medea and Progne, whose detestable Paracides have ministred matter to Poets, to write their horrible Tragedies. Ibid. *p.* 34.

Amongst other things, she digged up the Body of her Father-in-Law Constantine the Fifth, and commanded it to be openly burned, and the Ashes to be thrown into the Sea; because when he was alive, he had destroyed Images, and taken away the sumptuous Ornaments of Churches. Which Example of her's (as the constant Report goeth) had like to have been put in practice with Princes coyles in our days, had the Authority of the Holy Father continued but a little longer. Ibid. *p.* 32.

This is true modern Popish Cruelty and Barbarity, which, according to the daily improvement of it under that Religion, would have far exceeded *Irene*'s. She burnt her Father-in-Law, a Man that was no kin to her, otherwise than by an artificial Relation, and a fiction of Law: But here

it would have been an own natural Father, and Brother; in which case a sweet Protestant Prince, and a Persecutor of Protestants, only not a Slave to the Pope, had both fared alike. So that where Popery comes to be well setled, the Sacred Reliques of all those Princes are in danger of suffering the most barbarous Indignities, who have been in their time either hearty Protestants, or not hearty and thorow-paced Papists. And neither the reverence of a Father, nor the dear Relation of a Brother, shall save them from being treated like the most notorious Malefactors, whom the Justice of a Nation thinks it self bound to follow and pursue into the other World, and to make examples to all future Ages. For blind Catholick Zeal knows no Body; but be it Peasant or Prince, Strangers, or their own Flesh and Blood, alive or dead, if they have been Hereticks, or insufficient Catholicks, into the Fire shall they go.

What English Man, who had but one drop of true English Blood left in his Veins, could have endured to behold

behold this horrid ſight? To ſee a parcel of cowardly Papiſts breaking up a Royal Monument with Sacrilegious Hands, and dragging thence a mighty Monarch, whom when he was alive, they durſt not have look'd in the Face: to ſee thoſe Sacred Temples, which had been incircled with a Crown, and that puiſſant Arm which had ſwayed the Engliſh Scepter for almoſt forty Years, now reduced to infamous Aſhes; and theſe thrown into the Water, as not fit to have a place upon God's Earth: and all this perform'd by the pure Zeal of his own Daughter, only becauſe he was not quite ſo good a Catholick as her ſelf?

I could not forbear ſhaking this Note a little, to try what Muſick it will make in their Ears, who make way for a Popiſh Succeſſor, out of pure Loyalty to a Proteſtant Prince. As they like this, they may proceed. For here they may plainly behold what bleſſed Fruits the Authority of the Holy Father is like to produce, and what true and laudable Service

will be done to Proteſtant Princes, by introducing Popery.

So well the firſt Reformers, in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, underſtood the Spirit of Popery. And yet they knew nothing of thoſe Helliſh Plots, which almoſt filled up the ſucceeding part of that Queen's Reign: They knew nothing of the *Paris* Wedding, the Gun-powder Plot, or the Iriſh Maſſacre; which will remain in Books, as Monuments of the inhumane and accurſed Cruelty of Papiſts, when time has periſhed the *London* Monument. And they may as well go and try their Foreheads upon this Monument of Stone, as endeavour to out-face the other.

Theſe Cruelties never entred into the Hearts of Pagans, and therefore we have no foundation of a Compariſon betwixt Popery and Paganiſm in this Point; no more than we can compare Prince *Rupert*'s Iron Guns with *Julius Cæſar*'s. For this murdering and maſſacring hundreds of thouſands upon the ſcore of Religion, in cold

cold Blood, and under the Sacred Rites of Friendſhip, are things found out in theſe latter Ages: And the compendious deſtruction of a Nation at one blow, is as perfectly a new Invention, as the Gun-powder it ſelf, which was to have done that Catholick Job.

All that can be done therefore in this Matter, is;

1. To ſhew what Cruelty the Pagans exerciſed upon the account of Religion.

And, 2. to ſhew, that the Papiſts have far exceeded them.

The Pagan Cruelty, upon the account of Religion, falls under theſe two Heads.

1. The Sanguinary Laws which were enacted, or put in execution againſt the Chriſtians.

2. The Outrages which were committed upon them.

In both theſe the Papiſts have much out-done the Pagans, as might eaſily be made appear from their own General Councils, their own Hiſtorians, their

their Popes Speeches, particularly that of *Sixtus Quintus*, upon the Murder of *Henry* the Third of *France*; their Popes Bulls, particularly to the Iriſh in their late Holy War; their Holy Inquiſition, which has, I will not ſay, Ten Perſecutions, but ten thouſand Perſecutions in the Belly of it.

Alas, the Roman Laws were but Cobwebs, to thoſe of Holy Church againſt Hereſy. You may ſee ſome of them in the Decrees of the *Lateran* Council, under *Innocent* the Third; Laws like our late Act for burying in Wollen, which will execute themſelves, and extirpate peſtilent Northern Hereſy, by a modeſt computation, in a Year and halfs Time. For it is Deprivation to the Biſhop that is remiſs and negligent, who muſt make room for another, that can and will confound Heretical Pravity: It is Death in that private Man, who will not be an Informer: it is the loſs of his Kingdom to that Prince, who will not extirpate as faſt as he can; which in that caſe is to be given to Catholick Free-booters, who, when they have extirpated the Hereticks, are to poſſeſs

28 Vol. Conc. *Paris*, cap. 3. p. 161.

poſſeſs it without any contradiction, and to keep it in the purity of the Faith.

But becauſe I would willingly do all Right to the *Papiſts* in this Matter, which cannot be done, but by a large and juſt Diſcourſe upon the Subject; I ſhall here break off, making that the Concluſion, which is the only end and intention of this Book, and that my hearty prayer to God, which ſhall always be my poor endeavour among Men.

The Lord of Heaven and Earth defend us from their Tyranny and Pride, that they never enter into his Vineyard again, to the diſturbance of his ſeely poor Flock: but that they may be utterly confounded and put to flight in all parts of the World: And he of his great Mercy ſo work in all Mens Hearts, by the mighty Power of the Holy Ghoſt, that the comfortable Goſpel of his Son Chriſt may be truly-preached, truly received, and truly followed in all places, to the beating down of Sin, Death, the Pope, *2d part Hom. for* Whitſun. p. 216.

Pope, the Devil, and all the Kingdom of Antichrist, that like scattered and disperled Sheep, being at length gathered into one Fold, we may in the end rest all together in the Bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, there to be partakers of eternal and everlasting Life, through the Merits and Death of Jesus Christ our Saviour. AMEN.

FINIS.